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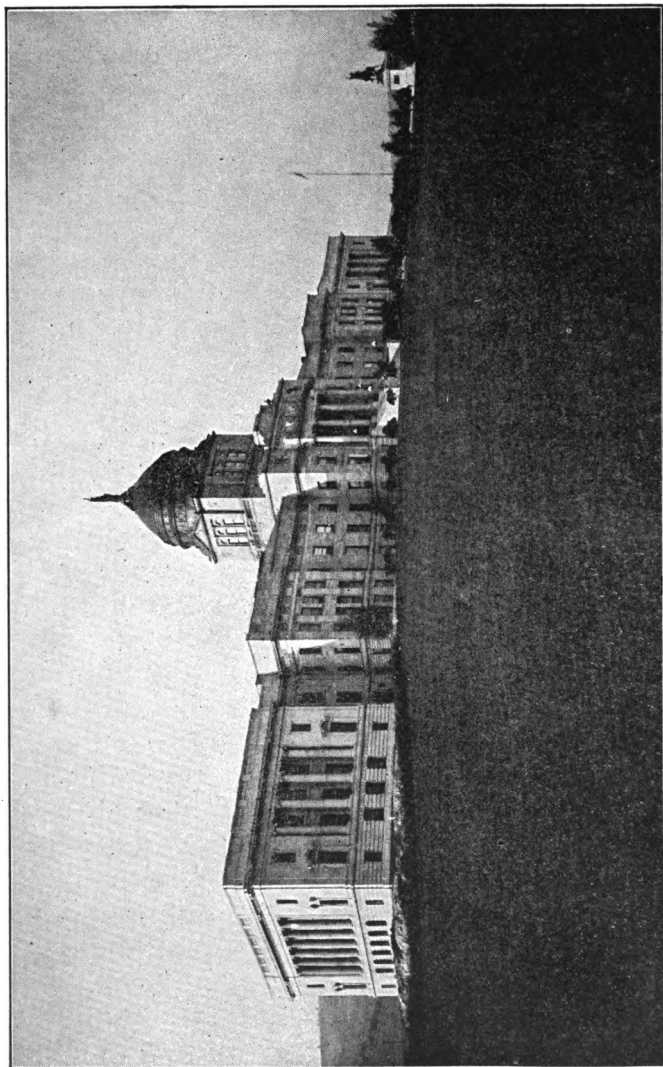
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THE STATE CAPITOL AT HELENA

# THE STORY OF MONTANA

BY  
KATE HAMMOND FOGARTY



**LAIDLAW BROTHERS**  
**INCORPORATED**  
**CHICAGO** **NEW YORK**

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## PREFACE

The writing of the "Story of Montana" was undertaken while the author was on the staff of the Butte Public Library to meet the demand for a suitable textbook for schools, and also for the many lovers of Montana who wish to become familiar with the main facts of its early as well as present-day history without having to consult many separate volumes.

Much interesting source material has been studied, and it is hoped that others may be led to consult these sources with profit to themselves.

The author gladly acknowledges her indebtedness to those who have aided her in gathering the material; to those who have granted permission to use certain illustrations, and more than all to those who by their encouragement have enabled her to overcome many obstacles.

KATE HAMMOND FOGARTY



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# THE STORY OF MONTANA

## PART I

### EARLY EXPLORERS IN MONTANA

#### 1. THE FIRST WHITE MEN TO GO UP THE MISSOURI

**Looking for the Pacific Ocean.**—The first white men to go up the Missouri had a great object in view. They were looking for the Pacific Ocean. It seems strange to us that the year 1743 had been reached before the people of America had learned the first thing about the western part of the continent. But just consider for a moment the conditions as they were in those days. How many miles would you care to travel at one stretch on horseback, or in a stage-coach? Or how far do you think you would care to go up a river if you had to row all the way? Canoes were their boats, and horses or oxen their only means of land locomotion. Steamboats were not used until 1819 and such a thing as a railroad was not known anywhere until 1830.

Then there were, of course, no supply stations and they had to carry with them provisions enough to last until their return, and they were in great danger of falling into the hands of the hostile Indians,

with no way of escape; or of being badly wounded and unable to return to their homes.

With all these difficulties in the way, men were indeed brave who would venture far in the wilderness, and even having such a great object as the discovery of an ocean had not charms for many.

**The French fur traders.**—The French fur traders were great men for seeking new lands. They were continually pushing farther into the wilderness and building trading posts where it would seem impossible for white men to go. These Frenchmen were friendly to the Indians, because they wanted their trade. They would go into their lodges and become like members of the tribe and the Indians would tell them stories about their life in the wilderness.

**Verendrye and his sons.**—One of the traders was much interested in a story often told by the Indians, of a river which flowed from far up in the western mountains, and of another river which flowed in the opposite direction and which had its headwaters so near that of the first river that only the mountains stood between them, and this second river flowed down into a great salt sea, so great that no Indian could venture far out in a canoe.

This French trader, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye, was an employee at Fort Nipogen, a trading post north of Lake Superior. He very much desired to see this great salt sea; but how was the feat to be accomplished? He knew that in order to do it he would have to have a number of companions, and they would need provisions enough

to last them several years. Who would put up the capital for such an enterprise? He had a hard time to persuade those who were in a position to help him, that his desire to explore this unknown country was not a wild scheme.

At last the fur company by whom he was employed agreed to supply the needed money, and it



HEAD OF THE BIG BLACKFOOT VALLEY

was hoped that he would bring back furs enough to cover the expenses.

**Expedition leaves Montreal.**—In 1731 they left Montreal; Verendrye, his three sons, a nephew, a Jesuit missionary, and a number of boatmen and hunters. It was twelve years from the time of their first start until they beheld the Rockies.

They went up the Assiniboine River and then up the Mouse or Souris River and from there over into



what is now Dakota, until they came to the Mandan Villages on the Missouri River near the point where now stands Bismarck.

**Fort de la Reine.**— This trip was not all made at one time. They stopped and built forts and traded along the way. The fort on the Assiniboine River was named Fort de la Reine. While they were at this fort, Verendrye went back to Montreal twice to take his furs and to buy supplies. Once he went over into the Mandan Country and there he met an Indian who had just come from the Far West. This Indian told him that by taking a round-about way they could eventually reach the Pacific. Verendrye would have gone on with him then, but about that time his interpreter deserted him and his bags of presents for the Indians were stolen, and he had to go back to Fort de la Reine for reinforcements.

**Attacked by Sioux.**— Before he was able to return, the fort was attacked by Sioux Indians, and one son, the missionary and some of the men were massacred. About the same time the nephew died. Verendrye himself was taken ill and was not able to go again to the Mandan Village. His two sons were undaunted by these failures and agreed to go alone on the expedition.

**Verendrye's sons.**— In the spring of 1742, the sons, Pierre and the Chevalier, with two Canadians, went over into the Mandan Country expecting to find some one who could guide them over the mountains. They were disappointed, for the Mandans did not know the way, and no Indians happened to be in their village at that time who had been in

that country. However two of the Mandans agreed to take the explorers to some Indians who were friends to a tribe which could lead the way.

**Route of the Verendryes.**—The route that they followed after leaving the Mandans has been puzzling to historians, for in the Verendrye records they speak of the Beaux Hommes, the Little Foxes, the Poyas, the Horse Indians, the Bow Indians, and the Choke Cherries, and not one of these tribes can be positively identified, for our Indians are all known now by different names. In the "Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana," the route is given as following up the Missouri River to the Gate of the Mountains and then crossing over to the Wind River Mountains; but later historians agree more fully with Francis Parkman, who in his "Half Century of Conflict" gives a map of the route as he has studied it out. According to Parkman, they went only into the southeastern part of Montana and no farther west than the Wind River Range.

When they had reached the country of the Bow Indians they thought their way would be clear, for these Indians were about to go on a war expedition against the Snake Indians. The Bows knew that the Snakes could find the way to the Pacific, for they had had captives of the Snake tribe who had told them about seeing the great salt sea. The explorers did not even reach the mountains, for at that point the Bow Indians became frightened at hearing that the Snakes were about to attack their village, and fled panic-stricken from that part of the

country. It was useless for the Frenchmen to try to go on without the escort of the Indians, so they turned back, hoping to return at some future time.

**A monument in the Choke Cherry country.** — On their way back to the Mandan Village, they visited the Choke Cherry Indians, and while in their country planted on an eminence a lead plate on which were engraved the arms of France, and erected a monument of stones which they called Beau Harnois, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

**Lost landmarks.** — For many years historians searched for these two landmarks, but all to no effect, and it was decided that the plate had been washed into the river, and the monument leveled to the ground. No one could be really sure what places the explorers had visited unless these could be found.

**Buried one hundred and seventy years.** — One February day in the year 1913, two children were going home from school in Pierre, South Dakota, when one of them stubbed her toe against a protruding object. They dug up the piece and found it to be a curious bit of metal. They carried it home and some one knew what it must be. It was the Verendrye plate! Come to light after one hundred and seventy years!

**Still a mystery.** — But historians are still puzzled. It was found farther down on the Missouri than some of them had supposed it would be, and their theories had been upset. However, one question has been definitely settled, and that is: that the Verendryes did not go near the Gate of the Moun-

tains — indeed it is doubtful if they came into Montana at all.

**The Verendryes' return to Canada.** — The Verendryes reached Fort de la Reine in July, 1744. Their father received them with great joy, for they had been gone so long that he thought they were lost. They were not discouraged because of their failure to reach the Pacific. They hoped to make the attempt once more, for they were full of enthusiasm over the opportunities which awaited those with the daring to seek them, but they could not interest the ministers of the government of Canada in the discoveries they had made. They went to Quebec, hoping to find some officials or merchants there who would be interested, but no one would listen to them. Their fur-trading enterprise had not been successful and the dealers were not willing to risk any money.

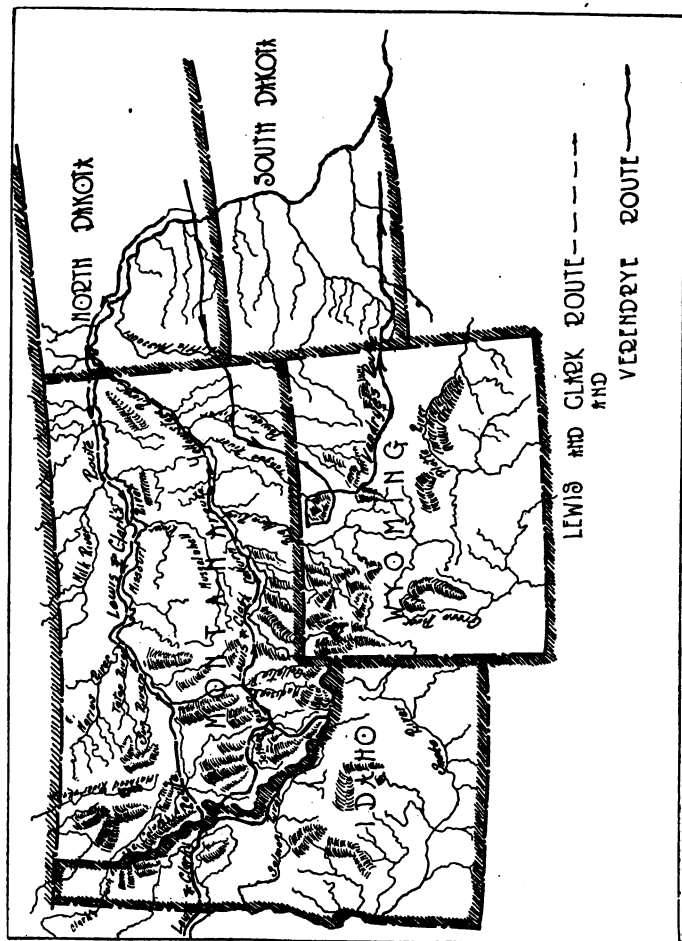
**Sixty years after.** — Many of the Indians who gazed with wonder at the white men in the Verendrye expedition never saw one again because it was sixty years before another white man set foot in the Upper Missouri country. The Revolutionary War had taken up the attention of the entire continent; and then, too, shortly after the Verendrye expedition, the western part of the continent fell into the hands of Spain and neither the French nor the English had any right or interest in exploring the country.

**Upper Missouri becomes United States territory.** — Not until it came into the possession of the United States was any serious thought taken of the explora-

tion of the upper Missouri. When Thomas Jefferson became President of the United States, he saw the opportunity to accomplish a plan which he had long cherished. This was to procure the Oregon Country, for the United States. He had watched the movements of the Canadian fur companies in that country and saw how they were gaining in wealth and in influence over the Indians. He wanted the wealth and power and opportunity for his own country.

Congress decides to send an exploring party into the new land. — After he had succeeded in bringing about the Louisiana Purchase, there were many people who criticized him, because they thought that the Far West was a barren waste, not suitable for the homes of men, and they thought that the Rocky Mountains were impassable. But Jefferson still believed that it was a great country and after a while he succeeded in getting Congress to agree to send an exploring party up the Missouri River and from there to the Pacific Ocean to study the manners and characteristics of the native Indians, to make arrangements for the establishment of trading posts with the tribes, and to thoroughly explore the country.

Lewis and Clark chosen leaders of expedition. — Meriwether Lewis was chosen leader of this expedition and William Clark his associate. The party, when organized, consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers of the United States army, two French watermen, an interpreter and hunter, and a black servant belonging to Captain Clark. In addition to these were engaged a corporal



LEWIS AND CLARK ROUTE AND VERENDRYE ROUTE





and six soldiers, and nine watermen to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan Village, to assist in carrying the provisions and to be a protection in case of an attack while passing through the Sioux country.

**Their first winter is passed in St. Louis.** — They were obliged to spend the winter of 1803-4 in St. Louis, as the Spanish authorities at that village would not allow them to pass into the newly acquired land until the official papers were received, notifying them of the change of ownership.

**The Mandans again.** — The following winter they spent in the Mandan Village, having arrived there in October. This was an important stage of their journey. It was here they secured an interpreter for the trip. This was Charboneau, a half-breed. It was necessary to have some one who could converse with all tribes they might meet and explain to them the object of the expedition. They must gain the good will of the Shoshones, who lived in the neighborhood of the passes over the mountains, and unless there should be some way to communicate with them it would be useless for them to attempt the journey. Charboneau would not consent to accompany them unless he could take along his wife, Sacajawea. The explorers looked with disfavor upon this proposition. They had no desire to be burdened with the care of a woman and a young baby on such a hard trip. But as Charboneau was firm, they reluctantly allowed her to join the party; and it was well that they did, for otherwise they could not have obtained the favor of the Shoshones.

**Sacajawea's story.**—The story of this brave woman, who was herself a Shoshone, is an interesting and romantic one. She was captured, when a small girl, by the Minnetarees, who were deadly enemies of her people, and was sold to Charboneau as a slave. He fell in love with her and made her his wife. No doubt it gave him a great deal of satisfaction to think of taking her back to her own people and showing them that she was being well cared for.

He knew that she was better able to stand the hard trip than many of the men, for it was only a continuation of her daily life. Lewis speaks of her in his Journals in the highest praise, saying that she stood the journey as well as the men and far better than Charboneau, who was often disabled.

**Over the mountains to the ocean.**—In April, 1805, they started out into the unknown country, whence, as far as they knew, no white man had ever ventured. They had not heard about the journey of the Verendryes. As they went up the river in their canoes, their escort went down the river in the keel-boat, carrying with them the collection of animal skins and skeletons, specimens of flowers, and many curious things that they had found in their journey from St. Louis to the Mandans.

**The route through Montana.**—The explorers followed the Missouri up to the headwaters of the Jefferson River, which is one of the Three Forks of the Missouri. They crossed the mountains over into Idaho and passed the site of the present Salmon

City. They purposed going down the Salmon River and then down the Columbia, but when they arrived at that point they found that that route was too rough and devoid of game and berries. The Indians told them that it would take seven days to pass the bad traveling. An old Indian in the Shoshone village knew of a way to get over into the Bitter Root Valley from there, and they engaged him as a guide. Even that way was hard, for they had to cut a trail in places in order to get the pack horses through. After they had arrived in the Bitter Root, they still had, in order to reach the Columbia River, a range to cross, but the Lo Lo trail was not considered hard by the Indians. Lewis' journal says, "Our guides traverse this trackless region with a kind of instinctive sagacity; they never hesitate, they are never embarrassed, and so undeviating is their step, that wherever the snow has disappeared for even a hundred paces, we find the summer road." This was written about the return trip, which was made over the same road.

On their return from the Pacific the party divided after they had passed over the Lo Lo trail, and Clark went back through the Bitter Root Valley and crossed over the pass which divides that valley from the Valley of the Big Hole. He then went to the Three Forks and went over what was afterwards known as the Bozeman Pass into the Valley of the Yellowstone. He missed by only a few miles the wonders of the Yellowstone Park. Lewis went through the Hell Gate Valley and over the Big Black-foot Pass to the Dearborn River and thence down to

the Missouri, and down that river to the mouth of the Yellowstone, where he joined Clark.

**The expedition a success.** — The work of exploration being now accomplished, they proceeded, with no further stops, down the river to St. Louis where they arrived on the twenty-third of September, 1806. The expedition had been entirely successful. They had found the Pacific Ocean and they had proved that it was possible to cross the Rocky Mountains. But it was not for this alone that these men made for themselves such an important place in the history of North America. It was because they had gone under the authority of the government, and were able to give complete records of the journey through the government publications. Furthermore, they had shown the Canadian Fur Companies that they intended to protect their frontier; and they secured to the United States, by right of exploration, the Oregon Territory.

**Fur traders from St. Louis.** — The fur traders began going up the Missouri River from St. Louis before the return of Lewis and Clark. They were Frenchmen and it was hard to get ahead of the French fur traders in those days. There was not a part of Canada that had not been explored pretty thoroughly by this time, and they were only waiting for a chance to get into this country.

**John Colter.** — When Lewis and Clark were at the Mandan Village on their return voyage, they met two hunters who were going up the river. They asked to have the services of John Colter, who was one of the exploring party. As the work of the

explorers was over, they consented to his discharge, and he turned back to Montana, going up the Yellowstone River. On their return they met Manuel Lisa, a fur trader, coming up the river, and Colter was again persuaded to turn back. He proved a useful man to Lisa, being sent out from the post as messenger to different tribes. In these trips he did some individual exploration work. In Chittenden's "History of the American Fur Trade" we read that "he was the first explorer of the Valley of the Big Horn River; the first to cross the passes at the head of Wind River and see the headwaters of the Colorado of the West; the first to see the Teton Mountains, Jackson Hole, Pierre's Hole, and the sources of the Snake River; and most important of all, the first to pass through that singular region which has since become known throughout the world as the Yellowstone Wonderland." During his wanderings he had many terrible adventures, and nearly lost his life, but he lived to go back to civilization and tell of his adventures. People could not imagine such places as he had seen, and many thought that he was demented from long exposure. "No author or map-maker would jeopardize the success of his works by incorporating in it such incredible material as Colter furnished. His stories were not believed, their author became the subject of jest and ridicule, and the region of his adventures was long derisively known as Colter's Hell."

**The War of 1812.** — For several years after the first explorers went into Montana, there were no expeditions up the river. The reason for this was

that the minds of the people were occupied with the War of 1812. Men, thirsting for adventure, found it at home, without venturing into the wilderness.

## 2. THE BOATS THEY CAME IN

**Early boats.**—The boats used by the early travelers would look queer to us now, and it was so hard to get them up the river that the invention of the steamboat was as wonderful to the people then as being able to fly in machines is to us now. There were four different kinds of boats used by the explorers and the fur traders: canoes, bull-boats, keel-boats, and mackinaws.

**Verendrye's boats.**—The Verendryes came in canoes, but they were not like the canoes used afterward by the Missouri River Voyagers. These first explorers were Canadians. Naturally they brought their canoes with them, as they had come all the way by boat and portage from Canadian waters. They were made of birch-bark which grows in such abundance in that country.

**Missouri River canoes.**—The canoes made on the Upper Missouri River were different. There were few birch trees along the river. A substitute was found in the cottonwood logs. These logs they cut into lengths of from fifteen to twenty feet and dug out the center of each, leaving only the shell. These canoes were much better than bark ones for Missouri River use, for they were strong enough to stand the wear of rocks and snags.

The canoes were much used, not only by the individual traders who brought their stock with them,

but later by the fur companies. The principal use by the fur companies was in transporting goods from post to post, and for sending important messengers down the river to headquarters, and "there are several records of their having been used to transport freight — such as bears' oil, which was extensively used in St. Louis as a substitute for lard in the days when swine were scarce and black bears plentiful — Honey was also transported in this way," which had been taken from bee trees in the Missouri Bottoms.

**Lewis and Clark canoes.** — The canoes were sometimes bound together, two of them, side by side, and floored over. These they called perigues. There were two of these in the fleet that Lewis and Clark started out in from St. Louis, and they took them as far as the Marias River. Here one was anchored until their return. The other one they took on to the foot of the Great Falls, and left at anchor. At Mandan Village they made six new canoes, single ones. These they traveled in to the head of the Jefferson River. They portaged them and their baggage around the Falls, by taking the mast of their second perigue and sawing it in pieces for wheels for wagons. These rude wagons they pushed and pulled over the eighteen mile portage.

When they came to the place where canoes were no more possible for transportation, they filled them with stones and sunk them to the bottom of the stream, so they would be there when needed again.

The canoes were used by Clark and his men in going down the Jefferson River and were taken down



to the Lewis party after Clark had gone on to the Yellowstone, and Lewis and his men took also the perioques which were in anchor at the Great Falls and the Marias River.

**Bull-boats.** — The other small boats mentioned in the journals were called bull-boats because they were made of the skins of the buffalo bulls. The skins of the cows were not as strong nor as able to



THE FLATHEADS IN BULL-BOATS

stand the rubbing against the rocks. The framework of the boats was about thirty feet long and twelve wide, and was made of willow poles firmly lashed together with raw hide. No nails were used. The pieces of skins for the covers were sewed together with buffalo sinews, the hides dried and shrunk, and the seams were pitched with buffalo tallow and ashes. A loaded bull-boat could be handled by two men. At night when the landing was made the boat was unloaded, then turned over to dry. In this position it

served as a shelter for both cargo and crew. In the morning the seams were repitched and any rents carefully patched. The boat was then launched and reloaded and the voyage resumed.

**Keel-boats.** — Besides the two periogues Lewis and Clark had a keel-boat which was the largest of their three boats, and were like those used afterwards by the fur companies to freight their goods up the river. They were called keel-boats because they were the only boats on the river that had keels. They were large, sometimes sixty or seventy feet long. They were pulled up the river by a rope called a cordelle. It took from twenty to forty men to pull a keel-boat, while they walked along the bank. When they came to a place where the men could not walk they pushed the boats along by poles. Sometimes they used sails, if the wind was right, and again they rowed their boats.

As Chittenden says in the book he has written about the fur trade, "Thus by one means or another, and now and then by all together, the early keel-boat worked and worried its way up the turbulent current of the Missouri — whatever the method of propulsion, however, the task was always extremely laborious."

**Mackinaw boats.** — The mackinaws were used by the fur traders to carry goods down stream. They were built at the Upper River ports and were floated down. They were not taken back up stream, as it was easier and cheaper to build a new boat than to take one up the river.

They were made entirely of timber. The building places for these boats were called "chantiers" which

was French for navy-yard. There was a chantier for every post, and it was built as near to the post as they could find a wooded spot. The Fort Union chantier was twenty-five miles above its post, while that of Fort Benton was three miles below.

The mackinaw boats were large, sometimes as long as fifty feet. The cargo of furs was piled in the center of the boat, covered over with large skins, which were fastened down with cleats to the sides of the boat, in order to keep the furs as dry as possible. In front of the cargo were the seats for the oarsmen, while the steersman sat in the stern on an elevated perch from which he could look over the cargo and study the river ahead.

**Voyageurs.**—The men who did the work of managing the boats on the river were called “voyageurs” and were usually Frenchmen. The voyageur “was a very important figure in the early fur trade. He was always singing at his work, laughing and joking with his companions, and cheerful and happy in his manner. His willingness to toil, complacent endurance of the most prodigious labors and his long acquiescence in the scanty provision for food and shelter made him the cheerful slave of the fur trade.”

### 3. THE PEOPLE THEY MET

**The Mandans.**—The Verendryes met some hostile tribes in their long journey from Montreal to the Missouri River, but they found friends when they came to the valley of the Mandans. These Mandans were in many ways unlike Indians, the principal one being their fair complexions. By

some of the early travelers they were called white Indians, and they were so friendly with all the white travelers that many people really thought that in some way they were a mixture of the white race with the Indians.

**Lewis and Clark and the Mandans.**—When Lewis and Clark were nearing what is now Montana they also came to the Village of the Mandans. There they spent the winter hearing the Indians tell of tribes who lived nearer the mountains, and learning the directions of rivers and landmarks by which they were to be guided. They also met Indians from other tribes who came down to the Mandan Village to trade with men from the British Posts.

**No Montana Indians encountered on the Missouri.**—After Lewis and Clark left the Mandans they saw no Indians until they came to the Shoshone Village above the Three Forks of the Missouri. Here and there they found deserted campfires which they knew must have been the camping places of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees and they were glad to miss meeting these Indians because they were not a friendly tribe.

**Looking for the Shoshones.**—As they went along through that great empty land they began to be afraid that they would miss the Shoshone Indians as well and if that should happen they would have to turn back as Verendrye had done, for it was impossible for any one to cross the mountains at that day without the help of the Shoshones. But one thing saved them from this fate, and this was the presence of Sacajawea, the wife of the interpreter. She knew

where her people hid from their enemy, the Blackfeet, and she knew where they made their camps when on the way to the buffalo hunt, and she led the explorers unfalteringly to their village.

**Surprise to the Shoshones.** — The white men were a great curiosity to the Shoshones. Lewis' journals tell us that "They [the Shoshones] had indeed, abundant sources of surprise in all they saw — the appearance of the men, their arms, their clothing, the canoes, the strange looks of the negro and the sagacity of our dog, all in turn shared their admiration, which was raised to astonishment by a shot from the air-gun. This operation was instantly considered, 'great medicine,' by which they, as well as the other Indians, mean something emanating directly from the Great Spirit, or produced by his invisible and incomprehensive agency."

**The Flatheads.** — At the head of the Bitter Root Valley they met the Flatheads, and had a pleasant conference with them. The Flatheads were then on their way over into the Jefferson Valley and the buffalo country. They told the explorers about the pass from the Bitter Root over into the Jefferson Valley, and this was the pass that Clark used on the way home.

**Over into Idaho.** — After leaving the Bitter Root Valley, Lewis and Clark went into what is now Idaho, among the Nez Perces who spent much of their time with the Flatheads on their hunts. Here they found a chief, Twisted Hair, who made for them a map of the country into which they were to go. This chief took care of their horses until their

return, for here they built canoes and made the rest of their way to the Pacific by river.

**The Blackfeet.** — On their return trip they were not so fortunate as to escape the Blackfeet. One of their bands was camping near the Great Falls. The Indians planned to steal the explorers' horses and guns. They were discovered in time, but unfortunately two of the Indians were killed in the encounter. Lewis and his companions escaped unharmed, but the Blackfeet never forgave the white men, and, in after years, many an innocent man met his death at the hands of these vengeful Indians.

**No Indians met on the Yellowstone.** — Clark saw no Indians in his descent of the Yellowstone and the others saw no more until they reached the Mandans again.

**The tribal homes.** — When the fur traders came into the Upper River Country to trap and trade, they learned to know the homes and haunts of all the tribes. They knew that the Assiniboinés were to be found in the Missouri Valley from below the mouth of the Yellowstone to the mouth of the Milk River; the Blackfeet proper were in the Milk River Valley; and the Gros Ventres of the Prairie, the most hostile of the Blackfeet tribes, were in the Judith and Musselshell Valleys. On the western streams of the Missouri above the Marias River were the Piegiens, another tribe of the Blackfeet, whose favorite valley was that of the Sun River; while the Bloods, also a hostile tribe of the Blackfeet, were usually to be found at the foot of the

Rockies, at the head of the valleys of the Milk and Marias. On the western side of the mountains was the home of the Flatheads, and of their allied tribes, the Pend d'Oreilles or the Kalispells and the Kootenais. The Flatheads lived in the Bitter Root Valley, while the others were in the Flathead Valley near the lake of the same name. On the headwaters of the Three Forks of the Missouri were often to be found villages of the Shoshones and Bannacks, whose real homes were in the Snake River Country; and in that fearsome part of the country where stronger tribes were afraid to go, now known as the Yellowstone National Park, was the small band of the Sheepeaters, who, like the game of the present day, found there a safe refuge out of the reach of their enemies. All along the Valley of the Yellowstone were the Crows, but the part of it that they loved best was up along the stream called the Big Horn. They called this Absaraka, and considered it their real home.

#### 4. THE SCENERY THEY SAW

**Verendrye and the mountains.** — Lewis and Clark were the first to cross the Rocky Mountains, but the sons of Verendrye were the first to see them. Historians do not know just what part of the mountains the Verendryes saw, but it is thought from the direction they took — according to what their journals tell us, and the distance they traveled in each day — that it was the Big Horn Mountains or probably the Wind River Mountains that they saw on that New Year's Day in 1743. We can imagine how







they longed to climb those peaks, thinking that if they could only reach the summits, they could look over into that unknown land and perhaps see the ocean itself. But we know that they were far from the long dreamed of land, that from those summits only more mountains were to be seen, and no different view could be had for two or three hundred miles, and the ocean itself was more than eight hundred miles away.

**Lewis and Clark and the mountains.** — It was on May 26, 1805, that Lewis and Clark first saw the Rockies. This was at Cow Creek, not far from the Judith River. In his journals Lewis spoke of them as “the Rock Mountains — the object of all our hopes, and the reward of all our ambition.”

**The Stone Walls.** — They saw much fine scenery before they came actually to the mountains. There was one place they called The Stone Walls where the cliffs rose from two hundred to three hundred feet high, and where they looked in places like spires and turrets and columns, and in other places like walls laid with immense black rocks in regular rows.

**The Great Falls of the Missouri.** — The Minnetarees, the friends of the Mandans, had told Lewis and Clark about the Great Falls of the Missouri, so they were not surprised when one day their “ears were saluted with the agreeable sound of a fall of water.” They had traveled seven miles after first hearing the sound, and at last seated themselves on some rocks under the center of one of the falls and enjoyed the sublime spectacle.

This fall was only one of several cascades and falls extending for a distance of ten miles or more. Everything was as the Indians had told them — even the Eagle's Nest was seen on an island just below the Upper Falls. "Here on a cottonwood tree an eagle had fixed her nest, and seemed the undisputed mistress of a spot, to contest whose domain neither man nor beast would venture across the gulfs that surrounded it, and which is further secured by a mist rising from the falls. This solitary bird could not escape the observation of the Indians, who made the eagle's nest a part of their description of the falls."

**In full view of the mountains.** — After leaving the Falls the explorers were constantly in full view of the Rocky Mountains, which were not then known by that name. Lewis in his journals says, "They glisten with great beauty when the sun shines on them in a particular direction, and most probably from this glistening appearance have derived the name of the Shining Mountains."

**The Gate of the Mountains.** — After several days the explorers approached a wonderful pass in the mountains, where the rocks came down to the river on both sides. For five and three-quarters miles the rocks rose perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of nearly twelve hundred feet. The journal says, "Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of the rocks, which project over the river and menace us with destruction. During the whole distance the water is very deep even at the edges, and for the first

three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, in which a man can stand between the water and the towering perpendicular of the mountains. We were obliged to go on sometime after dark, not being able to find a spot large enough to camp on; but at length, about two miles above a small island in the middle of the river, we met with a place on the left side where we procured plenty of light wood and pitch pine. This extraordinary range of rocks we called 'the Gate of the Rocky Mountains.'"

**The Three Forks of the Missouri.**— In the last of July of 1805, the explorers reached the sources of the Missouri. They named the Three Forks for Thomas Jefferson who was then President of the United States, and two members of his cabinet, Albert Gallatin and James Madison. The one named for Jefferson was really a continuation of the river; the others were large branches, but all were so nearly of a size that they took them for three forks.

This had been a spot of historical interest for a good many years, and was for many years after. All the Indian trails in the country seemed to cross at this point, as the easiest pass into the Yellowstone Valley: the buffalo country. The Blackfeet claimed the country around the Three Forks but no tribe dwelt there permanently.

**On the summit of the mountains.**— When the explorers finally stood upon the summit of the mountains they rejoiced that "they had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man. As they quenched their thirst at

the chaste and icy fountain — as they sat down by the brink of that little riverlet, which yielded its distant and modest tribute to the parent ocean — they felt themselves rewarded for all their labors and all their difficulties.”

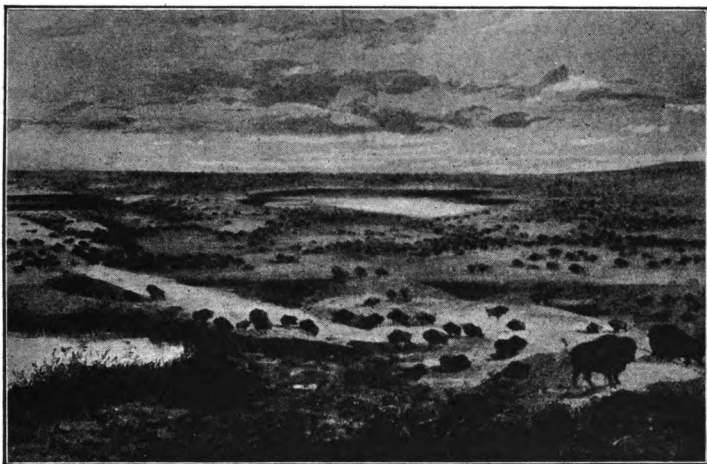
### 5. THE ANIMALS THEY HUNTED

**Game.** — Travelers on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains never wanted for game. Buffaloes, bears, deer, elks, antelopes, and beavers were their chief objects of food. Fowls of all kinds and fish, too, were to be had in plentiful quantities.

**Bears.** — Bears were the hardest of all the game to kill, because unless they were shot squarely through the brain or heart, they were not killed, and when wounded would turn upon the hunter and fight furiously. The journal of Lewis says: “The wonderful power of life which these animals possess renders them dreadful; their very track in the mud or sand, which we have sometimes found eleven inches long and seven and a fourth inches wide, exclusive of the talons, is alarming; and we had rather encounter two Indians than meet a single brown bear. Of the strength and ferocity of the grizzly bear the Indians had given us dreadful accounts. They never attack him but in parties of six or eight persons, and even then are often defeated with a loss of one or more of their party. Having no weapons but bows and arrows, and the bad guns with which the traders supply them, they are obliged to approach very near to the bear, and they frequently fall a sacrifice if they miss their aim. To a skilled rifleman the danger is very

much diminished yet the white (grizzly) bear is still a terrible animal."

**Antelopes.** — Of the antelopes the journal says: "These fleet and quick sighted animals are generally the victims of their curiosity. When they first see the hunter they run with great velocity; if he lies down on the ground, and lifts up his hat, his arm or



*Permission of N. A. Forsyth, Butte*

#### THE BUFFALOES ROAMED IN GREAT HERDS

Small wonder that they had all the buffalo meat  
they wanted

his foot, they return with a light trot to look at the object, and sometimes go and return two or three times, till they approach within reach of the rifle. So, too, they sometimes leave their flocks to go and look at the wolves, which crouch down, and, if the antelope is frightened at first, repeat the

same manoeuver and sometimes relieve each other, till they decoy it from the party, when they seize it."

**Buffaloes.** — The explorers found the buffaloes so gentle that they were obliged to drive them out of the way with sticks and stones. Small wonder that they had all the buffalo meat they wanted! The buffaloes roamed in great herds over the country between the Missouri and the Yellowstone. More than once when Clark was returning down the Yellowstone, his party was delayed by herds of buffaloes crossing the river before them. These herds sometimes were in columns a mile wide, and would be as long as an hour crossing the river. How can we but wonder that these are all gone now? History tells us that they were slaughtered by the Indians and the trappers for the American Fur Company. The small numbers that were left were hunted down by the settlers until now there are only a few in zoological gardens and national parks.

**Beavers.** — The beavers were usually killed for their skins but the early travelers used them for food as well. They were considered a great delicacy, particularly the tails, which, when boiled, were like fresh tongue. One tail was large enough for a plentiful meal for two men.

## 6. THE POSTS THEY BUILT

**Fort Lisa.** — The first trading posts were built by Manuel Lisa, the Spaniard who had come up to St. Louis from New Orleans and became a rival to the Chouteaus. He went up to the mouth of the Yellowstone, and then up that river to the Big Horn River

in the heart of the country of the Crow Indians, and built Fort Lisa, — the first building in what is now known as Montana. He was not as successful in choosing a location as he might have been, for the Blackfeet had the best beaver grounds and the Crows were enemies of the Blackfeet — but in spite of these facts, “Lisa came down the river with his boats piled, heaped and laden to the gunwale edge with furs out of the Yellowstone.”

At the Three Forks. — Noting the advantage it would be to trade with the Blackfeet, Lisa and his partners moved over to the Three Forks the next season, expecting to do an immense trade there, for being a spot which nearly all tribes passed at some time during the hunting season, it would seem the most advantageous point for a trading post. But they had reckoned without the Blackfeet. Lisa could well boast of his friendship with all the other tribes, but no one could count the Blackfeet as friends. They were foes to every one — Indian or white — especially any one who dared to set up an establishment in their country.

It was Lisa's part of the work to take the furs to St. Louis and bring up the fresh supplies. Andrew Henry, his partner, commanded the fort, and did the trading and was overseer of the trappers.

Soon after the post was opened the Indians became so hostile that it was unsafe for the men to go outside the fort to hunt, and they were quickly being driven to a state of starvation. They were soon forced to move over to the other side of the main range, into the territory of the Snake or Shoshone Indians.



**The post near Henry's Lake.**—The post which they built over the range was the first American establishment to be built on any of the waters of the Columbia River. It was near the boundary line between Montana and Idaho. Henry's Fork of the Snake River, and Henry's Lake were named for the commander, Andrew Henry.

Although more secure at the new location, the fur traders felt fearful for their safety and at the end of the season all were glad to turn towards home. At the Mandan Village they met Lisa, who was coming back up the river in search of them, as he had become alarmed at hearing no news from them.

#### 7. THE JOURNALS THEY WROTE

**Sources.**—What we call the sources of history are the journals and accounts written at the time of historical events. For a good many years the story of the early exploration of the West and the fur trade was entirely unknown to the public, because the journals had not been put into readable shape. Of late years historians have hunted up these old records and edited and reprinted them so that if one has access to a fair sized library one can learn enough of the events of those days to form a connected story.

**Verendrye's journal.**—Some of the journals are so brief, that we sometimes must lament that so little was told us. Such for instance were Verendrye's journals. As Francis Parkman says: "If the travelers had been less sparing of words, they would

doubtless have told us that as they entered the village square the flattened earthen domes that surrounded it were thronged with squaws and children," and many other little incidents, too, that would have straightened out several puzzling questions for us.

This journal was of course written in French, but it has now been translated into English. Because the names they gave to the tribes they met are different from those by which these tribes were known later, the journal is not as valuable as otherwise it might have been.

**The Lewis and Clark Journals.**—When Lewis and Clark were gathering together the provisions and supplies for their long journey into the wilderness they did not forget ink-horns and quills and blank books, so they might write down all their adventures. Lewis encouraged every one to keep a journal, and around the twilight fires the men wrote every night. Lewis, Clark, Ordway, Gass, Fraser, all busy "with their stub quill pens and ink-horns, recording the day's adventure. They were not scholars, any of them, but men of action, pioneers and explorers, heralds of the nation."

**Gass' journal.**—Patrick Gass had a goodly share of Irish wit, and as his schooling was limited there must have been a good deal of fun over his efforts. Eva Emery Dye in her account of the Lewis and Clark expedition makes him say, "I niver wint to school but nineteen days in me boyhood, and that was whin I was a man," — and she says of him: "but what Pat lacked in books he made up in ob-

servation and shrewd reasoning; hence it fell out that Patrick Gass' journal was the first published account of the Lewis and Clark expedition, — with the help of a Scotch schoolmaster Patrick published his book the next year, immortalizing the name of the gallant Irish Sergeant. He lived to become a great student in his old age, and an authority on Indians and early times."

**Lewis' journal.** — The official journal of the expedition was written by Meriwether Lewis. This would naturally be so because he was the leader of the expedition, and also had been President Jefferson's private secretary. He had orders to write down whatever would be of interest to people who might want to trade with the Indians, and make such observations of the mountains and rivers as would be needed by the War Department in making maps of the country.

After the return of the expedition Lewis was occupied during his leisure time with preparing his journal for publication, but he died before it was completed.

There are now several good editions which include the journals of both Lewis and Clark, and give besides excellent notes taken from the observation of later travelers, and from the journals of others who wrote at the same period of time.

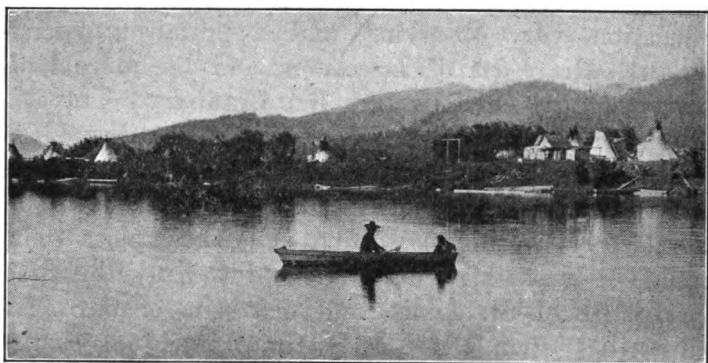
**Bradbury and Brackinridge.** — Two early travelers who did not reach the Upper River Country have written valuable records. As they were connected with Lisa in some of his journeys their works would be interesting to students of Montana History. Chittenden says in his "History of the American Fur

Trade": "Bradbury's well-known book 'Travels In North America' is one of the most useful works of this period, and one which the careful student of Louisiana History never fails to consult. It is the best existing authority on many points, and in some the only one. Irving drew largely upon it in his narrative of 'Hunts' Voyage up the Missouri.' . . . Henry M. Brackinridge ascended the Missouri with Lisa in 1811. . . . He was a young man of good education, very observing, and a promising young writer. His *View of Louisiana*, and his journal of his voyage up the Missouri, like Bradbury's *Travels*, are among our most reliable early authorities."

Account of Lisa's first expedition into Montana. — In Chittenden's work we read that, "The data for the history of this expedition is less complete than could be wished. The *Louisiana Gazette*, the first newspaper of St. Louis, and now one of our best authorities upon those early times, was not established until 1808. There are no letters or documents extant bearing upon this enterprise. Our main authorities are Brackinridge, who received an account of the expedition direct from Lisa, and Thomas Biddle, who wrote from personal knowledge of the work of the fur traders in the early years of the country."

New editions of the old journals. — One of our present day historians, Reuben Gold Thwaites, has made a collection of the old journals, and edited them with notes. This is a most useful work because it brings the sources within the reach of all readers. Hiram M. Chittenden's "History of the

American Fur Trade of the Far West" is another work of equal usefulness. He has taken the old journals and formed them all into one connected story, which gives us a picture of those times taken directly from the sources.



PEND D'OREILLE INDIAN VILLAGE

## PART II

### THE INDIANS

#### 1. BEFORE THE WHITE MEN CAME

**First occupants of the Upper Missouri.** — We have no way to estimate how long the Indians had been living in Montana before the white men came. They have no written history, but as far back as their Indian stories go, the Flatheads and Shoshones had lived in the Valleys of the Missouri River and its large streams. They were happy and contented. There were plenty of buffaloes, and these were so tame that they could be easily killed with the simple means that the Indians had in that day. From the buffalo they procured the skins for their lodges, for their robes, and for the making of their skin boats. The buffalo robes were cold proof, and with those over their lodges and wrapped about their bodies, or covering them, the Indians could bid defiance to the cold blasts of winter. On the flesh and the marrow of the bones they lived; what they could not eat in the fresh state they dried. Some tribes ground the meat to a powder and mixed it with fat and choke cherries, calling it pemmican. In addition to the buffalo they had wild fowl and berries and fish to eat, besides all kinds of game. All the summer was spent in procuring comforts for the winter. When the

winter storms came on they found some sheltered valley up in the mountains, where they were protected from the cold winds, and where they lived on the food that they had dried in the summer.

**The first horses.**—At one time some Spanish traders came up from the Southwest. They brought



RELICS OF INDIAN DAYS

horses to the Indians, and what a difference those horses made in their lives! Before this time all journeys had been made on foot. Dogs had been their only beast of burden, and the Indians themselves always had to carry large packs on their backs. Even the children had to carry a share of the burdens,—but as soon as they had horses, they had found a beast of burden that would carry not only

their packs, but themselves, and now they could go long distances into valleys that before had been inaccessible.

**The coming of the Blackfeet.** — Later on another event happened to these first inhabitants. A tribe of Indians came down from the north and drove them back into the sheltered valleys. These new Indians had a number of guns that they had procured from the Canadian fur-trading posts. It was useless to attempt to resist these invaders, for the guns were like magic arrows, and could make a deadly wound from a long distance.

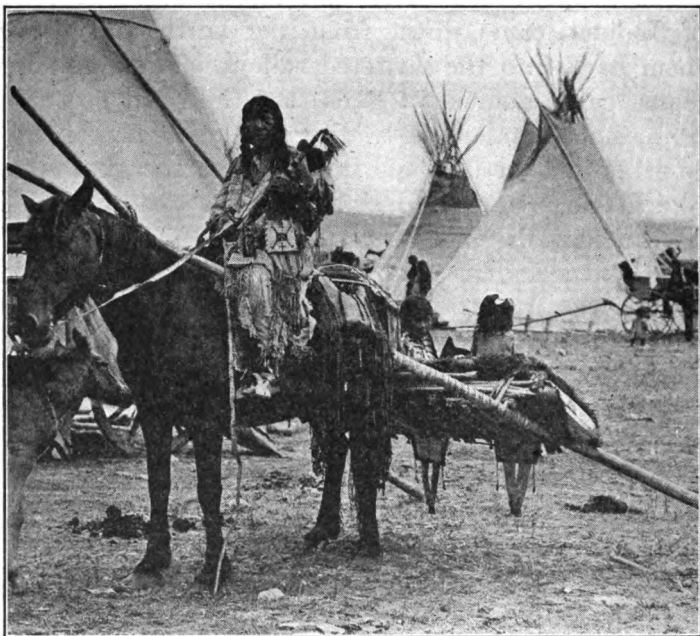
The new Indians had no horses, they had walked a long way from the country between the Peace and Saskatchewan Rivers in Canada. They had had strong enemies there who had driven them out of their homes, and they had come this long distance over burnt-over prairies and rough country. Their moccasins were travel-stained and black. The Flatheads and Shoshones called them the Blackfeet, and the name has clung to them.

**Driven beyond the mountains.** — With their guns the Blackfeet soon took from the Shoshones horses enough for themselves, and with guns and horses they had no fear of any tribe. The Flatheads and Shoshones saw that it was no use to resist. The Blackfeet had come to stay, and the Flatheads fled over the mountains into the Flathead and Bitter Root Valleys, while the Shoshones went up to the head-waters of the Missouri and over into Idaho.

**Hostility Begins.** — Once or twice a year they stole over into their old country to hunt buffalo.



Sometimes they were fortunate enough not to meet their enemies; at other times they would come upon parties of them and then there would be a battle. In this way they came to be thinking about war a



*Permission of N. A. Forsyth, Bulle*

#### THE INDIAN'S WAGON

great deal of the time, and the men spent their best efforts in making good warriors of themselves. The Blackfeet liked nothing better than a battle with the Shoshones because it always made more horses for them, and made them more powerful.

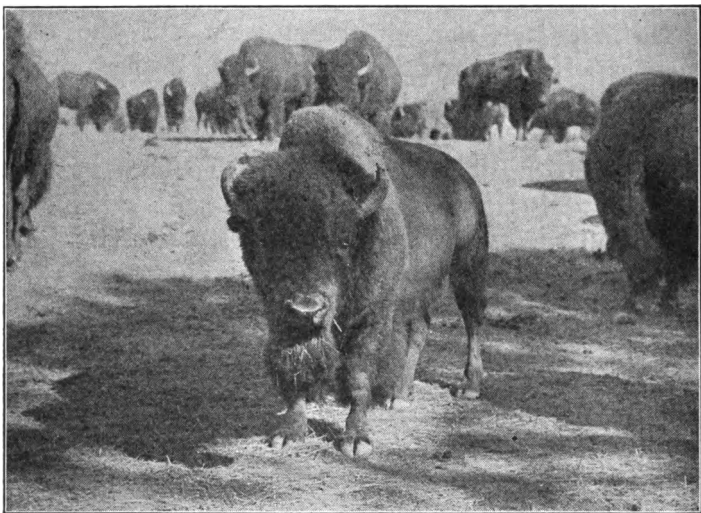
**The Crows.**—The Crows, who lived in the Yellowstone Valley, also feared the Blackfeet. One

tribe of the Blackfeet they especially hated was the Gros Ventres. The reason for this probably was because they were such near neighbors to the Crows. Their home was in the Valleys of the Judith and Musselshell. The Crows finally moved up into the streams of the Yellowstone, spending most of their time in the Big Horn Valley.

**The Sioux.**—The Blackfeet were not the only enemies of the Crows. There was another strong nation lower down on the Missouri River: the Sioux. They too liked to come into the Yellowstone Valley to hunt buffalo and other game. The Crows had a hard time between the Blackfeet and the Sioux. They had to resort to all sorts of clever devices and after a time they learned how to steal horses away from the Blackfeet and other Indians, until they too were as well equipped as any.

**Yearly hunts for buffalo.**—After a few years the tribes again led a settled life. They still went about from one place to another, but they were not often far from their home valleys. One long expedition they took every year. That was into the Yellowstone for buffalo. This valley was a long one and was full of buffalo, so there was plenty of room and game for all the tribes. When a tribe went out on the hunt, practically the whole village went along. The braves all had to go to hunt and to protect the expedition, the women had to go to prepare the meat and skins, of course they had to take the youngest children, and that left only the old men and women, and the children who were old enough to be left behind. Sometimes a village would go and return without meeting any

other Indians, but oftener they would meet two or three different parties. If they should meet a party which was going along peacefully as they were, bound only for the hunt, then there would be no trouble; but if they should meet a horse-stealing party, then they would have to watch very care-



THE BUFFALOES WERE TAME'

fully to see that the strangers did not have a chance to run off with their horses; and if they chanced to meet a war party then there was apt to be very serious trouble.

The Indians had the reputation for being very fond of war. They undoubtedly were, especially when they were out on the war-path and well prepared for battle; but to the village it was a great dread. It meant the destruction of their homes,

the murder or capture of the women and children, and the death or torture of the braves. Villages were sometimes entirely destroyed; those not killed were carried into captivity, there to be either tortured or made slaves. Still they were fearless and never hesitated to pursue an enemy to avenge the death of members of their villages, or to secure for themselves stores of which they were in need and of which the enemy had a plentiful supply.

## 2. WHAT THE EXPLORERS LEARNED ABOUT THE INDIANS

**At the Mandan Village.** — When Lewis and Clark were at the Mandan Village they learned all they could about the country which they were to explore. There was a chief there who drew a map of the Upper Missouri on a robe with a piece of coal. Others told them about the band of Blackfeet who were sometimes called the Minnetarees of the Prairies, and sometimes the Gros Ventres. (It is a puzzling matter not to confuse these names because the Indians who were near neighbors of the Mandans were also called Minnetarees and Gros Ventres, but these were known as the Minnetarees of the Missouri.) All the Indians told them about the hostility of this tribe of the Blackfeet, but the Assiniboines who lived north of the Missouri and east of the Blackfeet, being neighbors, had more reason to fear them. The Indians at the Mandan Village agreed that they must find the Shoshones to guide them over the mountains. Other tribes knew the passes over the mountains, but the Shoshones were the only ones who had horses

in such abundance that they could have them for exchange.

**Shoshones and Minnetarees enemies.** — The explorers heard stories of the enmity between the Shoshones and the Minnetarees of the Missouri. The student may wonder how such widely separated tribes could come in contact with each other often. It may be that their troubles existed before the Shoshones were driven beyond the mountains.

We can at least be sure that these were the two tribes, because Lewis and Clark found Sacajawea there in the Minnetaree Village where she had been taken a captive from the Shoshone Village, and she herself told them of her capture at the Three Forks of the Missouri.

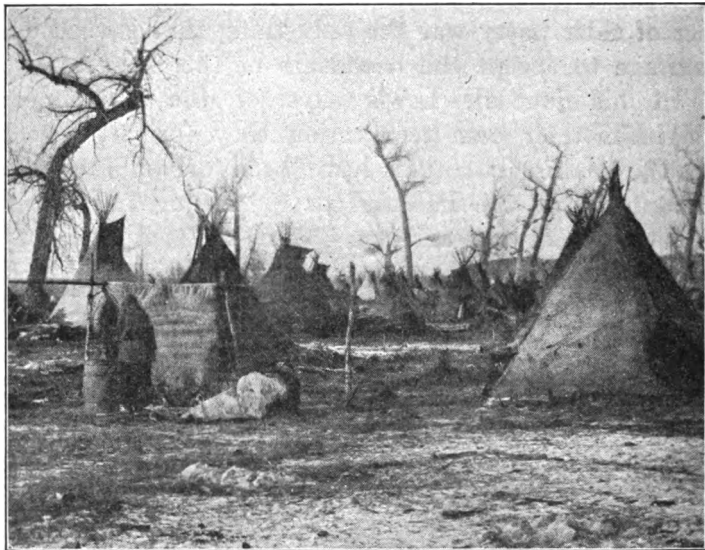
**Sacajawea at the Three Forks.** — Sacajawea had been a little girl when she was captured by the Minnetarees, but she could remember all about it. Furthermore, she remembered how her people had often been at the Three Forks of the Missouri, and when she reached that point with the explorers, she pointed up the Jefferson and said that was the way over the mountains; she pointed up the Gallatin and said that was the road all the Indians took when they went over into the buffalo country: the Yellowstone Valley; and up the Madison she pointed, saying that that was a valley where her people often were in camp. She told them that this spot was a natural cross roads, that all the tribes of the west passed this point on the way to the buffalo hunt.

**With the Shoshones.** — When the explorers came to the village of the Shoshones, they saw how cowed

the Indians really were. They showed such signs of fright that the explorers were at a loss to know how to reassure them. Nothing could convince them that possibly the strangers were not some messengers from their old enemies, the Minnetarees, until they saw Sacajawea. The fact that she was a respected member of their party was the only thing that gave them courage to accept the friendship of the whites.

In his journal, Lewis says of the Shoshones: "Within their own recollection they formerly lived in the plains, but they have been driven into the mountains by the Pahkees, or the roving Indians of the Saskatchewan, and are obliged to visit occasionally, and by stealth, the country of their ancestors. Their lives, indeed, are migratory. From the middle of May to the beginning of September they reside on the headwaters of the Columbia, where they consider themselves perfectly secure from the Pahkees, who have never yet found their way to that retreat. During this time they subsist chiefly on salmon, and, as that fish disappears on the approach of autumn, they are driven to seek subsistence elsewhere. They then cross the ridge to the waters of the Missouri, down which they proceed slowly and cautiously, till they are joined near the Three Forks by other bands, either of their own nation or of the Flatheads, with whom they associate against the common enemy. Being now strong in numbers, they venture to hunt the buffalo in the plains eastward of the mountains near which they spend the winter, till the return of the salmon invites them to the Columbia. But such is their terror of the Pahkees, that, so long as they

can obtain the scantiest subsistence, they do not leave the interior of the mountains; and, as soon as they have collected a large stock of dried meat, they again retreat, thus alternately obtaining their food at the hazard of their lives, and hiding themselves to con-



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LODGES MADE OF BUFFALO SKINS

sume it." The Pahkees are supposed to be the Blackfeet.

**The friendly Flatheads.** — When the explorers had arrived in the Bitter Root Valley they met a band of Indians, whom we suppose to be Flatheads. The explorers called them the Ootlashoots. The journal says: "They seemed kind and friendly, and willingly shared with us berries and roots, which formed their

sole stock of provisions. Their only wealth is their horses, which are very fine, and so numerous that this party had with them at least five hundred. These Indians were on their way to join the other bands who were hunting buffalo on the Jefferson River, across the Great Divide."

**The hostile Blackfeet.**—Lewis and Clark would have preferred to have found the Missouri as lonely going down as it had been on their journey up, but they were not so fortunate. Lewis' party came upon a party of eight Blackfeet. These were supposed at that time to be Gros Ventres but George Bird Grinnell, in his "Trail of the Pathfinders," says that the Piegiens tell of the adventure as having occurred to members of their band. Of their safe escape from this band we have already read, and the explorers were glad to see no more Indians on the Upper Missouri.

### 3. THE FUR TRADERS AMONG THE INDIANS

**The first fur trading.**—Before posts were built in the Indian country, the fur traders came up the river and traded from their boats and returned home when their goods were exhausted. We can imagine with what interest and curiosity the Indians regarded the goods of the white men! At first the boats were small and the traders had only a few things such as looking-glasses, knives, needles, hatchets. Just think what a strong steel needle would mean to an Indian woman! And a sharp knife to a man! Or a looking-glass to a young brave who delighted in decking himself in articles of Indian beauty! We can imagine, then, with what delight the boat of a trader



was sighted. How, before he had drawn his boat up to the bank, the whole village would be crowding around ready to have the first chance at a trade. The Indians did not realize how valuable their furs were — or perhaps — they better realized how great a convenience the needles and knives were, for they would give away a beaver skin for something of no value at all; but we ourselves give fabulous sums for cheap but necessary things when we are out in the wilderness. We have heard of the time when flour was a dollar a pound right here in Montana; and if we had quantities of beaver skins now and no flour, would we not be willing to give two or three skins for one sack of flour? So it was with the Indians; and it was not such an injustice for the traders to take many skins for their goods, because they had to work hard to get their boats up the river, and they had to go through many dangers in order to reach the Indian country.

**The Assiniboinés.** — Fort Union, the first permanent trading post in Montana, was built near the mouth of the Yellowstone for the Assiniboine Indians in 1829. The lodges of this tribe were to be seen here and there all the way from a short distance below the mouth of the Yellowstone to the mouth of the Milk River. They were also to be found in the territory to the north, as far as the Saskatchewan, and east to the Assiniboine River. They had long lived there, but they had a tradition that, many years before, their fathers had lived on the salt water, but they could not tell how long it had been or what route they had followed on their westward journeyings.

During the best days of the fur-trade, they numbered in the neighborhood of 28,000. Their main subsistence was the buffalo. They were considered good robe-makers by the traders and for this reason they were an important tribe to them. Before the trading post at Fort Union was established, they took their trade to the Canadian posts, and afterward it was the constant care of the trader to supply them with all their needs, so that they would not want to return to their former traders. They were generally friendly to the whites, although they were not always to be trusted.

**The Crows.**—A good deal of the trade of this post was with the Crows, from up the Yellowstone Valley. The Crows were considered the best robe-makers of all the Indian tribes. At different times posts were established in the Crow Country, but these people were such a roving class that they were not long enough in one part of the valley to make it worth while to establish a permanent post. It was found that the best way to trade with the Crows was to go out with a stock of provisions to their camps and then take the furs back to Fort Union.

**Early history of the Crows.**—Some of the old Crow warriors told the traders that they had not always lived on the Yellowstone. They came from the South, but they themselves could not remember living farther South than the Kansas River. When they came North they divided into two tribes; one called the Minnetarees or the Gros Ventres of the Missouri settled around the Missouri River near the Great Bend in what is now North Dakota, the others,

who kept the old tribal name of Absaraka, which means Crow, went to the Yellowstone, and they called the Big Horn Valley, the favorite valley of their new home, by the same name.

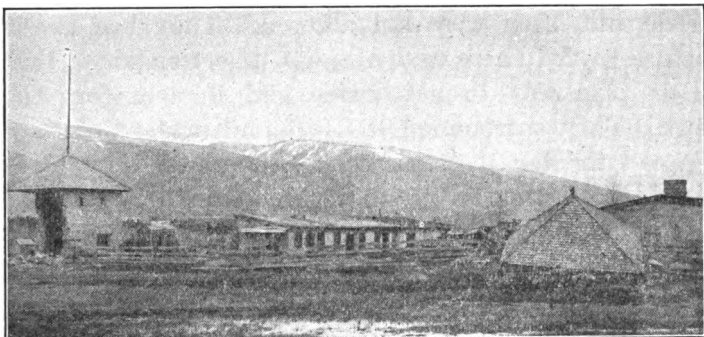
**Crow traits.**—The Crows and Minnetarees were the tallest and finest formed of any of the Missouri River Indians. They were fond of dress and ornaments. Chittenden says about them: "However much they might excel other tribes in physical development, they were in no degree behind them in the vices and defects of Indian character. They were the most expert of horse-stealers and the most skillful robbers among the Missouri tribes." Because of this trait they possessed more fine horses and were better horsemen than any of their neighbors.

**A trading post for the Blackfeet.**—When the traders began to know more about the Indians, they learned that the Piegiens lived in the best beaver country. All this time the Piegiens were taking their furs to the British Posts. The Canadian fur traders make a specialty of beaver skins and they offered great inducements to the Flatheads and the Piegiens to come north to trade.

The American traders were rather fearful at starting a post in the Blackfoot country. They had heard so many stories from the Indians of the hostility of this tribe, and so many individual traders had come to grief in their country, that it seemed a perilous undertaking. Then, too, the Assiniboines and the Crows did not want their enemies to have a post in their own country, for they would then be stronger still if more of them would have guns. But the trad-

ers thought only of the beaver skins, and they decided to take the consequences.

**Fort Piegan.** — The first Blackfoot post was named Fort Piegan. During the years that followed it had different names until at last it came to be known as Fort Benton. After this a new life opened up to the Blackfeet. Before, they had had only hostile feelings for the white men; their only thought upon



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OLD FORT OWEN

meeting one was to kill him. But now they had a different feeling, for while before, the whites had been intruders, now they were clearly there for the Indian's advantage. They supplied a market for their furs and brought to the Indians many comforts and luxuries. The visit to the post became one of the events of the year, and the arrival of the company's boat with the supplies and provisions from St. Louis was a sight not to be missed.

**The Crows attack the post.** — The Crows were so dissatisfied with the establishment of the new post

that they planned to attack and destroy it. Major Alexander Culbertson, who was in charge of the post, was warned by a squaw, who had been captured by the Crows but had escaped. She took the news to Major Culbertson that the Crows were preparing to make an attack on the fort at an early date.

The fort was put in readiness for the attack, and soon the Crows came in large numbers and camped around it. They had expected to enter the fort to trade but they were not allowed. They had never before traded there and Major Culbertson knew that their plan was to get inside and then destroy the fort. They surrounded the fort and a state of siege existed for ten days. Major Culbertson thought it would be better to avoid any bloodshed, if possible, but when the food gave out and his men were in danger of starving, he sent a messenger to say that if they were not gone by noon of that day, he would fire on them. They paid no heed to his warning and at noon the cannon was loaded and shots fired, whereupon they immediately took down their lodges, packed their belongings, and disappeared up the river, and were not seen again in the vicinity.

Arapooash, the chief who had led the besiegers, was one of the greatest that the Crows had ever had. He had wanted to keep peace with the whites, but his people were so determined to destroy the post that he had to do their will; but when his men showed such a cowardly spirit, when it came to battle, he felt that he had been forever disgraced. To show that his people were not such cowards as they appeared, he planned an expedition against the

Blackfeet. In this battle the great chief lost his life. Before he died, he said to his warriors: "Go back to my people with my dying words. Tell them ever hereafter to keep peace with the whites." His words were faithfully obeyed and to this day the Crows have never, as a tribe, made an attack upon the whites.

**The Assiniboinés attack the post.**—After Fort Piegan was well established the traders attempted to bring about a feeling of peace between the Blackfeet and the Assiniboinés. This was finally accomplished in 1831, and everything went well for about two years. Then the Assiniboinés, becoming tired of the peace, and perhaps urged on by the British traders, concluded to attack the post. The men at the fort, realizing that the fight was against the Blackfeet, did not at first join in, until they saw that the Blackfeet thought they were standing by out of cowardice. They then took a hand. But for them the Assiniboinés would have won the day. The traders were astonished to see what poor fighters the Blackfeet proved to be. They could not understand how they could have gained the terrible reputation they had had for so many years. This battle made things much better for the traders, for the Blackfeet had much greater respect for them, and the traders were no more in fear of an uprising from the Blackfeet.

**Peace not possible among the tribes.**—After these hostile affairs the traders gave up trying to keep peace among the tribes. It was no longer possible to keep the Assiniboinés and the Blackfeet to their treaty of peace. As to the Blackfeet and the

Crows, it was often said in those days: "As long as there are Crows and Gros Ventres there will be war." This was not hard to be understood, because the Crows were such thieves. They doubtless often richly deserved the punishment they got from the Gros Ventres.

**Smallpox on the Missouri.** — In 1837, the annual boat for some reason was delayed and the Indians at Fort Benton were impatiently waiting for its arrival. When news at last came of it, the traders were much dismayed, for there was smallpox on board! That was a terrible calamity in those days, for there was no knowledge of fumigation or necessary precaution. What to do they could not tell, for the Indians were depending upon the supplies and they could not be made to understand the danger. Major Culbertson, who was then in charge of the Upper Missouri posts, told them of the terrible effects of the disease, but they thought that they were such a strong, sturdy race that nothing of that nature would affect them. They insisted upon having the ship's cargo unloaded, and as they were in much stronger numbers than the traders, the latter had to yield to their wishes. They suffered terribly, for they were destroyed by thousands. The disease spread to other tribes and the Indians died in great numbers. This scourge greatly diminished the Indian population of Montana. What was most surprising of all was the fact that notwithstanding the knowledge the traders had of the condition of the Indians, the furs that season were sent down the river as usual.

The Montana Indians were not the only sufferers. The disease gained such headway in the Mandan Village that that nation was practically destroyed; only thirty-one of the tribe were left!

No Flathead or Shoshone posts. — There were no posts of the American traders among the Shoshones because the Shoshones led such a miserable existence that they had no skins to trade. They could find barely enough for their own use. The Flatheads were in a fine beaver country, but their home was on the western side of the mountains in the land known as the Oregon Territory, and was at that time British Territory.

#### 4. GREAT PEACE COUNCILS

The Indians and the missionaries. — The missionaries who came in the early forties made a great difference in the life of the Indians. The Flatheads especially profited by the temporal help that Father DeSmet and his followers brought. Being hidden away beyond the mountains, they were beyond the game haunts and were more dependent than other tribes upon roots and berries; the introduction of grains and vegetables made their food supply more to be depended upon. The building of warm cabins took away the dread of winter. The spiritual benefits taught them to be more merciful to each other, taught the men to lighten the work of the women, and taught them all that there was a higher motive of life than war.

The desire for peace. — The fur traders had given up the task of making peace between the tribes as an



impossibility, but the missionaries still hoped that it might be accomplished. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs knew that it must be brought about before many more white people came into the country to make homes. These fierce battles must not go on.

**A council planned.** — At last a great council was planned to be held at Fort Laramie on the Platte River with as many tribes of the West as could be induced to come, and in 1851 a delegation of Indians from the Assiniboiné, Minnetaree and Crow nations met at Fort Union to go overland to Fort Laramie. There they were rejoiced to see their old friend, Father DeSmet, who had come up from St. Louis purposely to attend this council. Because of his long connection with the western Indians and his deep sympathy for them, his services as pacificator were much desired by the government. He, with his Indian companions, went up the Yellowstone from Fort Union to Fort Alexander and up the valley at the base of the Big Horn Mountains until they struck the Oregon Trail on the Platte River.

**The Oregon trail.** — Father DeSmet tells us the impression the view of the Oregon trail had upon the Indians:

“Our Indian companions, who had never seen but the narrow hunting paths by which they transport themselves and their lodges, were filled with admiration on seeing this noble highway, which is as smooth as a barn floor swept by the winds, and not a blade of grass can shoot up on it on account of the continual passing. They conceived a high idea of the countless white nation, as they express it. They fancied

that all had gone over the road and that an immense void must exist in the land of the rising sun. Their countenances testified evident incredulity when I told them that their exit was in nowise perceived in the lands of the whites. They styled the route 'the great medicine road of the whites.' . . . They visited and examined in detail all the forsaken camping grounds on the way. They brought a great variety of objects to me to have their use and significance explained; they filled their pouches with knives, forks, spoons, basins, coffee-pots, and other cooking articles, axes, hammers, etc. With the bits of earthenware which bore any figure or inscription, they fabricated some ornament for their necks and ears."

**The council.** — Chittenden says: "The council with its attendant incidents lasted from the 12th to the 23rd of September (1851) and was terminated to the satisfaction of all concerned. Great harmony prevailed. All features of the troublesome situation were discussed and earnest effort was made to reach some good result. The treaties formed with the various tribes recognized the rights of the whites to cross their lands with roads, etc., recompensed the Indians for losses sustained, and provided payments for losses in the future."

**Governor Isaac I. Stevens.** — This council applied more to the southern tribes — those on the north still waged warfare among themselves. At last came a man with the determination to bring about the peace between the Montana tribes. This was Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory. He had the authority to give promises

of rewards to the Indians for good conduct and treaties kept.

Governor Stevens had been appointed in 1853, and in order to reach his capital at Olympia, Washington, he took the Missouri River route. He held councils with the Assiniboines at Fort Union and with the Blackfeet at Fort Benton. He remonstrated with the Blackfeet for their treatment of the Flatheads, who had to come through some part of the Blackfoot country every time they came over to hunt the buffalo. The Flatheads were brave warriors, ready to stand up before the Blackfeet, and were very often the victorious ones; but they were, when compared to the Blackfeet, such a small tribe that it would not be long before they would not only lose all their horses but eventually be annihilated. The older warriors told Governor Stevens that, although they were ready to accede to his wishes, it was not so easy to curb the younger men. But they all finally agreed to keep peace, leave the Flatheads alone, and steal none of their horses, until such time as they could have a general council with the Flatheads and other tribes, to come to some agreement as to hunting-grounds and common trails and passes. This council was appointed to be held at Fort Benton in 1855, when Governor Stevens would have returned from Olympia. He found the Flatheads ready to treat with the Blackfeet, but they were not so sanguine that the Blackfeet would live up to their agreement.

The council was to have been held at Fort Benton but when the time had arrived no word had been

received about the presents and provisions for the Indians, to be given in case the treaty went through amicably. Until the arrival of these, the council would have to be postponed. This was very much a drawback, as the Indians were gathered in great numbers. Twelve thousand were in the neighborhood, the greater part of which were Blackfeet. There was not enough game in the vicinity of Fort Benton to keep such a large gathering for such a length of time, and this was, as well, their usual time for putting in their winter's supply of meat, and one by one the tribes left to go to the Yellowstone. All agreed to return, if possible, when the council was about to begin.

**Council of 1855.** — Governor Stevens at length decided to move the council ground to the mouth of the Judith River, thereby saving several days' delay. When all were assembled, only about 3,500 were present. On the 16th of October, 1855, Governor Stevens formally opened the council. It lasted for three days. The following extract, taken from the *Life of Governor Stevens*, explains the main features of the council:

"The best feeling prevailed, all the chiefs making earnest and sincere speeches in favor of peace, contrasting the advantages of hunting in safety and trading between the tribes with the continual losses of their young braves and the steady decline in numbers from perpetual war, although some of them expressed doubts as to restraining the ambitious young warriors. Only one passing shadow was cast over the assemblage, and that but for a moment.

The treaty made all the country south of the Missouri a common hunting ground for all the tribes, while the country north of the river was to be reserved to the Blackfeet for hunting purposes, although open to the western Indians for trading and visiting. To this restriction Alexander, the Pend d'Oreille chief, demurred. Said he: 'A long time ago this country belonged to our ancestors, and the Blackfeet lived far north. We Indians were all well pleased when we came together here in friendship. Now you point us out a little land to hunt our game in. When we were enemies I always crossed over there, and why should I not now when we are friends? Now I have two hearts about it. What is the reason? Which of these chiefs (pointing to the Blackfeet) says we are not to go there? Which is the one?' The Little Dog, a Piegan chief: 'It is I, and not because we have anything against you. We are friendly, but the north Blackfeet might make a quarrel if you hunted near them. Do not put yourself in their way.' On Alexander's insisting, the Little Dog said: 'Since he speaks so much of it, we will give him liberty to come out in the north.'

"This was a matter of a good deal of importance to Alexander's people, for this pass across the mountains was directly opposite to their country and by being able to hunt there they were enabled to find buffalo at the end of a short trip; the other way was much longer.

"On the last day the commissioners and the chiefs and headsmen of all the tribes present signed the treaty amid the greatest satisfaction and good feel-

ing. During the next three days the presents were distributed, and coats and medals were presented to the chiefs, with speeches by the commissioners, exhorting them to keep their promises to their Great Father and control their young braves."

**The outcome.**—All agreed to keep peace with the tribes who were unable to be present, the Crows, Crees, Assiniboinés, and Snakes, pledging themselves not to war upon them or any of their neighboring tribes. While there were only about thirty-five hundred in the council, the number of Indians party to the treaty were about sixteen thousand. Nearly all their chiefs and principal men were there in person and signed the treaty. What was more surprising, they afterward observed it, and no more battles took place between the Blackfeet and Flatheads. "Few treaties with Indians have been so well observed by them as this by the 'blood thirsty' Blackfeet. They took no part in the great Sioux wars, nor in the outbreak of Joseph."

"The treaty was much more than a treaty of peace as far as the Blackfeet were concerned, for it gave them schools, farms, agricultural implements, etc., and an agent and annuities of \$35,000 for ten years, of which \$15,000 was devoted to educating them in agriculture and to teaching the children."

## 5. SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Indians had no written history, but the important deeds were carefully told by the old men to the younger ones in solemn council. If some one of the tribe showed a special interest in the stories,

particular attention was given to him by the old story tellers, and he, in his turn, was made "chief speaker." The Indians, who have been so misunderstood and mistreated by the whites, have been reticent about telling their history to us, and hence we know very little about the history of the separate tribes, and it is hard to distinguish the legends from the real events. It is now becoming known that much of their traditional history is verified by recent discovery as to battlefields and events.

Father DeSmet, the Jesuit missionary to the Montana Indians, has given us in his letters and journals many stories about the Flatheads; and the Blackfeet have told their stories to George Bird Grinnell, who has written for us some interesting and valuable books on the subject. Hiram Chittenden, in his works on Missouri River history and the fur trade, has woven the histories of the tribes together, giving a better general idea of the Montana Indians than any other of the writers to date. But the historian who would give the main events in the history of each tribe, with the names of illustrious chiefs and warriors, would find it a difficult if not impossible matter.

## PART III

### THE FUR TRADE

#### 1. THE MEN AT THE HEAD OF THE FUR TRADE

**The Chouteaus.** — There was a great profit in furs in the Eighteenth Century and many men from New Orleans went up into the fur countries to make their fortunes. One of these was Pierre Laclede Liguist, who obtained a charter for the right to hunt and trap and trade with the Indians on the Missouri River. He took his family with him when he started upon his quest and made his headquarters at the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. His wife had been married before to René Auguste Chouteau, and she had one son whose name was Auguste Chouteau. She had four children after her marriage to Liguist, but because of an old French law, she and all her children had to keep the name of the first husband, so that she was always known as Madame Chouteau, and her descendents have all retained that name to the present day. The one of her sons who was most interested in the fur trade of the Missouri was called Pierre Chouteau, although his name by our American law should have been Pierre Liguist.

For one hundred years after St. Louis was founded, the fur trade was almost the only business pursued



in the country, outside of farming and mechanical labor. Every one who possessed a little capital or who could borrow it invested in such merchandise as would be attractive to the Indians, and went up the river to trade. The Chouteau family were the most prominent traders, as they had held the first license to trade. Nearly all the men interested with them were connected with the family in some way.

Pierre Chouteau, Sr., was only five years old when his parents and older brother founded St. Louis.

When he was old enough to take up the work of his father, he engaged in trade with the Osage Indians, who lived up the Missouri River not far from St. Louis. Afterward he extended his trade to the Platte Indians, the Omahas, the Sioux, Arickarees, and Mandans, and finally met those who inhabited the upper regions of the Missouri as far as the Great Falls. This was all before Lewis and Clark made their journey up the Missouri. It is not stated in the journals that he visited these last Indians in their homes, but in those days the Indians often came a long distance to trade and he probably met them at some point lower down the river. Some of them came as far as St. Louis, for we read in one of the old St. Louis histories that "The house and grounds of Pierre Chouteau was for many years one of the most noted in the place. His long intercourse and traffic with the tribes of the Lower Missouri had given him great influence over them and they held him in high respect. In their frequent visits to our village he kindly allowed them the use of his large grounds for their temporary abiding place.

Their visits to the place, particularly of the upper tribes, the Mandans, the Arickarees and others, were always, in the summer season, coming down in their canoes in May and June, in company with the boats of the traders, who had spent the winter with them." He encouraged his sons to follow in his footsteps, for in 1809 he took them and his nephew up the Missouri River to some of the upper nations of Indians. One of these sons, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was the one who was the most notably concerned in the history of the fur trade of the Upper Missouri. It was he who took the first steamboat up as far as Fort Union in 1831-2, and it was his son Charles, grandson of Pierre, Sr., who took the first steamboat in 1859 from Fort Union to the mouth of the Marias, within twelve miles of Fort Benton.

We can readily see that these three Chouteaus, Pierre, Sr., Pierre, Jr., and Charles P., were the ones connected with Montana history. Their work was in connection with the Missouri Fur Company and the American Fur Company.

**Manuel Lisa.** — Manuel Lisa was the first trader to build a post in Montana. He secured as a partner George Droillard (called Drewyer in Lewis' journals) who had been one of the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Lisa was a rival of the Chouteaus; he put his whole life into his trade, and was considered quite a wonderful man in his day. He was called by some "The Cortez of the Missouri," but the Indians trusted and respected him. They knew that he was not trying to get the best of them. Ten months of every year it was his custom to bury

himself in the wilderness, until he became so familiar with the fashions of the Indians, the size and color of the favorite blanket, the shape and length of tomahawks, that no trader was more a favorite than he. He took to them seeds of pumpkins, beans, potatoes, and turnips, and taught them how to cultivate them. His blacksmiths worked for them, fashioning metal scrapers for their animal skins, and mending their kettles and doing other little services for them. He lent them traps. The old and weak knew that they could find refuge from the enemy in his forts. By these means he acquired the confidence and friendship of the Indians, and of course, obtained from them their choicest skins in trade. .

**William H. Ashley.** — Quite different in his way was the trader General William H. Ashley. With the Chouteaus and Lisa, the fur trade was their whole life, with Ashley it was a side issue, a business enterprise engaged in for a few years and then dropped.

General Ashley was a Virginian, a man of culture. He went into the fur trade because it was the most profitable as well as the most respectable business of that day. The rendezvous of his traders and trappers have become familiar to all through Washington Irving's "Bonneville." After he retired from the fur trade, he spent his remaining years in enjoyment of the fortune he had made. The account of his adventures in the mountains will be found in the history of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

**John Jacob Astor.** — The St. Louis traders had a rival whom they greatly feared. This was John Jacob Astor, the man who founded the wealth of the

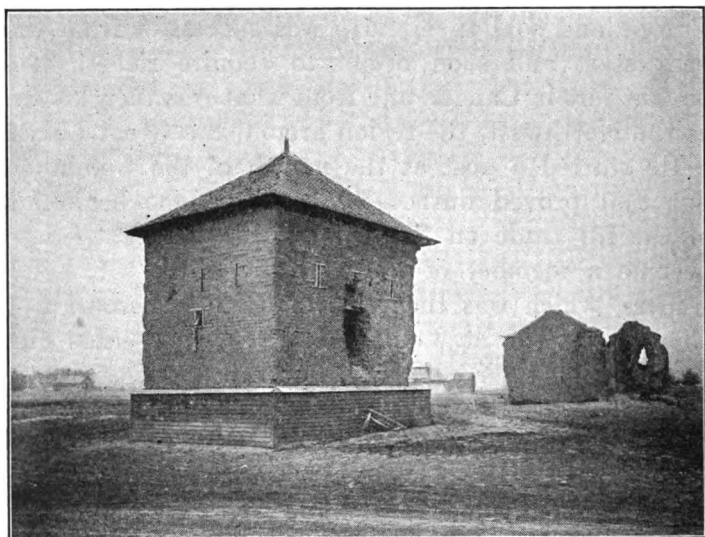
New York family of that name. He had emigrated to America from Germany when he was a young man of twenty. On the ship in which he came over, was a man interested in the fur trade, and this man advised him to put his small savings into furs. This he did and at the end of a year he took his furs to Europe and sold them. He was successful from the very start and soon began to acquire riches. He bought furs in Canada and from what was then known as the Northwest, the region around the Great Lakes.

He started a post at the mouth of the Columbia, but that proved unsuccessful, and at the beginning of the fur trade on the Upper Missouri he tried to become a member of the company of the St. Louis traders, which was then known as the Missouri Fur Company. The St. Louis men at first prevented him from joining their company, but in a few years time they were glad to have the use of his capital. The company, after he was admitted, took the name of The American Fur Company by which name his former company had been known.

## 2. THE FUR COMPANIES OF MONTANA

The earliest companies in St. Louis. — The first fur company in St. Louis was formed by the Frenchmen who were interested with the Chouteaus. They formed the company in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, in order to show the Canadian fur companies that they meant to prevent intrusion upon their country at the sources of the Missouri. When Manuel Lisa appeared in St. Louis from New Orleans with the sole right to trade with the Osages and

other Missouri tribes, it put their company in a new light. The right had previously been held by the Chouteaus and either they had not thought it necessary to renew it or Lisa had been the first to secure the new one. The only solution of the problem was



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ALL THAT IS LEFT OF FORT BENTON

to consolidate, and when Lisa returned from his trip to the mountains he entered into a partnership with the St. Louis fur traders.

**The Missouri Fur Company.** — It was while he was connected with this company that Manuel Lisa conducted the first trade in Montana with the Indians.

After the war of 1812 it was five years before business picked up again. In 1818 Lisa planned to go

again to the headwaters of the Missouri, and even beyond the Rocky Mountains. But before this was accomplished he died. He was succeeded as manager of the company by Joshua Pilcher.

**Another post on the Big Horn.**— In 1821 another post was established at the mouth of the Big Horn, which was the last post built by the Missouri Fur Company. To this post a large outfit was sent out in 1822, under Immel and Jones, who were to make this post their headquarters and endeavor to find and trade with the Blackfeet. It was not difficult to find the Blackfeet, but to find them in a peaceable frame of mind and willing to trade was another matter. The company had had such trouble to approach this tribe that they began to be suspicious that the British fur companies had influenced the Indians to be hostile. Early in the spring of 1823, Jones and Immel set out from the post to look for the Indians. They went to the Three Forks of the Missouri, and finding no traces of them proceeded to do a little trapping. They worked up the Jefferson Fork, and on their way down the stream they came upon a band of Blackfeet. The Indians pretended to be friendly, but the traders were fearful that they were not sincere in their offers of friendship, and when the Indians had withdrawn to their camp for the night the traders lost no time in leaving the spot. They started back to the post and when the Blackfeet found that they had escaped, they followed them, and overtook them near the Pryor's Fork of the Yellowstone. Those who escaped made bull-boats and went down the river to

the Mandan post. Both Immel and Jones had been killed.

This was a great blow to the Missouri Fur Company and showed the utter impossibility of attempting to trade with this tribe. Little more is known of the company from that time until those who were most interested went into the American Fur Company.

**The Rocky Mountain Fur Company.** — The first operation of this company in Montana was near the mouth of the Yellowstone, in 1822. William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry came up from St. Louis and established a post not far from where Fort Union was built seven years later. They had expected to push on to the Three Forks of the Missouri, but this became impossible because their horses were stolen by the Assiniboinés. It was then decided to be more to their advantage to work toward the south of the Three Forks, and from that time their operations were in the Green River country. Their method of business was different from that of the French traders. They dealt entirely with the white trappers and hunters instead of the Indians.

**Ashley's trappers.** — A few of the trappers proved themselves to be men of such unusual ability that Ashley took them into his company. One of these, Robert Campbell, had gone to the mountains for his health, and William Sublette, with his two brothers, Milton and Andrew, were men with an inherited love for the wilderness, for their grandfather had been a companion of Daniel Boone. Campbell and William Sublette were the principal partners; they

looked after the affairs of the company in the mountains. Other prominent mountain men in the company were David E. Jackson, Jedediah Smith, James Bridger, and Fitzpatrick. Their yearly meeting was called a rendezvous, and the traders came overland from St. Louis, by way of the Platte River, to the Green River country. Several of the old journals tell us of these rendezvous; they were unique events; nothing like them is known in history.

**Furs in the river.** — One season Ashley secured an immense lot of furs, so many in fact, that he was able that year to retire from business. When he was taking these furs down the river he met with an accident at the mouth of the Yellowstone. A boat was overturned and the packs of furs were floating away. This was a very serious matter, for each pack was valued at from three to five hundred dollars.

**Soldiers on the Yellowstone.** — While the men were frantically trying to recover the packs, they were suddenly startled by a most unusual sight. Out of the bushes on the banks sprang a number of soldiers who swam to the rescue of the floating packs. The traders were more used to seeing wild beasts than human beings out in the wilds, and the presence of those men was amazing as well as a great relief.

The soldiers were members of the General Atkinson Expedition, who had come up the river to hold treaties of peace with the Indians. Ashley was only too glad to accept their escort down the river.

**Ashley retires.** — After Ashley retired, the work was carried on by his faithful partners: Smith, Jack-



son, and William Sublette. In 1830, these men sold out to Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, James Bridger, Henry Fraeb, and Jean Baptiste Gervais. At this time the Company for the first time took the name of "The Rocky Mountain Fur Company." Before that it had gone under Ashley's name.

**The company continues.**—The doings of the company in the next four years are interesting and exciting. Chittenden gives a full account of the period. It was during this time that Bonneville was in the mountains and that the Battle of Pierre's Hole occurred. The operations of this company come properly in the history of Idaho and Wyoming, but no history of Montana is complete without some mention of it, because so many of the furs were procured in Montana around the Three Forks of the Missouri and on the headwaters of the Yellowstone.

**The company sells out.**—The Rocky Mountain Fur Company proper continued only four years and the latter part of that time they were greatly disturbed by the actions of the American Fur Company. This last firm had begun operations on the headwaters of the Missouri. They followed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company for several months in order to discover the good fur fields. The latter resisted their efforts, going to great extremes in order to avoid and mislead them, but the American Fur Company was too strong an organization to oppose, and in 1834 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company sold their traps and outfit to Fitzpatrick, Sublette, and Bridger, who in turn sold to the American Fur Com-

pany in 1836. Bridger and Fitzpatrick went into the employ of the latter company.

**The American Fur Company.**— John Jacob Astor started operations in St. Louis in 1822 when he established a western department of his company there. In 1827 the firm of Bernard Pratte and Company went into partnership with Astor. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was one of the principal members of the firm. Through his influence, Kenneth McKenzie became interested in the firm in the same year. Pierre Chouteau's company was to have charge of affairs at St. Louis and be the agents of the "Western Department of the American Fur Company." Kenneth McKenzie was to have charge of all the trade above Fort Pierre. His part of the company was still known as the "Upper Missouri Outfit," and was a part of the Western Department. Ramsey Crooks was over all and had charge also of the Northern Department around the Great Lakes. His headquarters were in New York.

**Kenneth McKenzie.**— Knowing as he did the ways of a large concern, McKenzie was an invaluable aid in establishing the trade. He advised the company to launch into the far wilderness, to go into the haunts of the buffalo and procure their valuable skins. He told them that the Canadian companies could not compete with them in this line of the trade, as the buffalo skins were too heavy to pay for their transportation over the portages, while these could be easily brought to St. Louis down the Missouri River. The Canadian companies dealt exclusively in the small, fine furs, and it would not be hard to secure

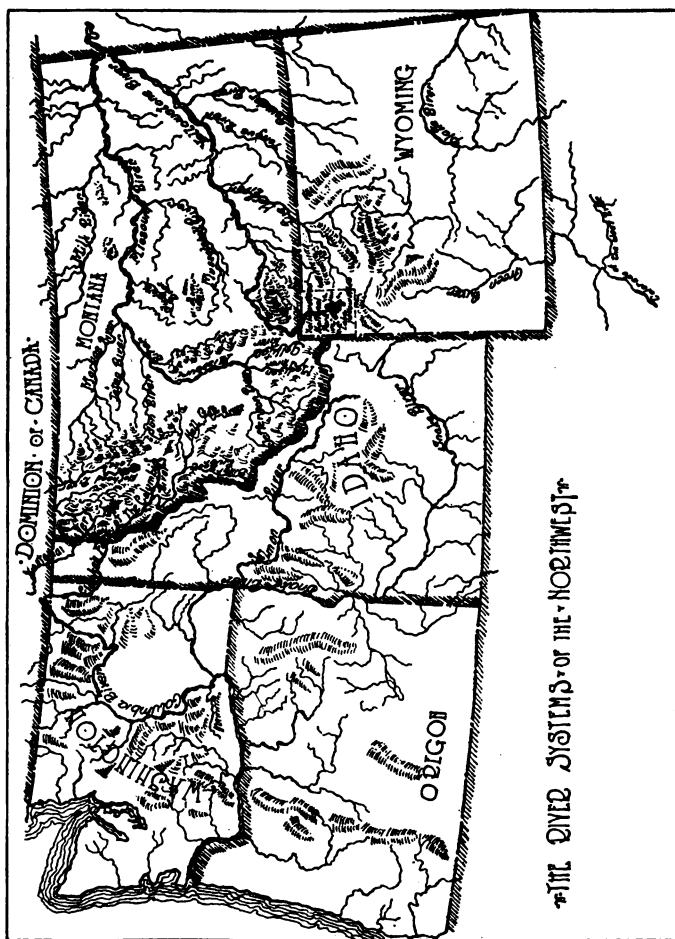
the trade of the Indians in the vicinity of the Missouri.

**Post at mouth of Yellowstone.**— Acting on the advice of McKenzie, they sent an outfit up the river in 1827, to prospect and find out the disposition of the Indians in the matter. McKenzie led this outfit, going up as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone. Here they found the Assiniboinés, who were desirous of having an accessible post. This was a beautiful site, “abounding in the best of timber, above, below and opposite the fort, and with all kinds of game.” He sent out couriers to all camps in the vicinity, inviting Crees, Chippeways, and Assiniboinés to come and trade. This they did in large numbers, as well as did many half-breed families.

A post was built about two miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, and named Fort Union.<sup>1</sup> Here in a short time a good trade was established, and McKenzie’s next ambition was to secure the trade of the hitherto unapproachable Blackfeet.

**The Blackfoot post.**— While he was wondering how he should come into communication with this tribe, a trapper by the name of Berger came to Fort Union. He had been employed at the post in Canada where the Blackfeet had been trading. He knew the Blackfeet well and he was their friend. He agreed to go with a party up the river to the Blackfeet country, and make arrangements with them to trade. Twelve men accompanied him. They went up the Missouri and up to the head of the Marias

<sup>1</sup> This post being two miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone brought it within the limits of the present Montana.



THE RIVER SYSTEMS OF THE NORTHWEST



before they saw an Indian. There they came across a band of Piegans, and Berger's men were ready to desert from fear. Berger made signs to the Indians and called out his name. They recognized him and received him with joy, and the white men's fears were set at rest. They agreed to go down to Fort Union with Berger to make arrangements to trade, and the entire party set out down the river. The way was longer than the Indians had expected and Berger had difficulty in keeping them to their intention, for they were determined to turn back about a day's ride from Fort Union. Berger at last succeeded in getting them to the post, where after a council they were promised a post in their own country.

**The Crow trade.**— There had been no trouble in interesting the Crows in the trade. They had never had any dealings with the Canadian companies, and they were naturally a peaceable tribe. Their first post was built at the mouth of the Big Horn.

**Free trappers.**— McKenzie had charge of all these outposts as well as Fort Union. He also oversaw the parties of traders who were sent up into the mountains to meet the free traders at the yearly rendezvous in the Green River Country. These parties proved to be a failure, for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company always managed to get to the rendezvous first and monopolized the trade.

**The liquor trouble.**— In 1832, a law was passed which prohibited any liquor being carried up the river for the Indian trade. This was a great blow to the American Fur Company, for it was their ability to sell liquor to them that prevented the

Indians from going over into Canada to trade. Every means was taken to gain permission to sell the liquor, but to no purpose. Finally McKenzie found a way to evade the law without seeming to openly violate it. He built a distillery at the post, for there was no law against the manufacturing of liquor. It merely stated that no liquor was to be taken up the river.

As the American Fur Company was as grasping a trust as any that we have at the present day, it is not to be supposed that they had no enemies. Some of these reported the fact of the existence of the "still" to the Government and the company had a very serious lawsuit. In fact, they would have lost their license to trade had it not been for the clever work of Thomas H. Benton, the company's lawyer. McKenzie left Fort Union soon after. He spent some time in Europe and came back to St. Louis, but was no more actively engaged in the work of the company.

**Astor retires.**—In 1834, Astor retired from the business. He had made a vast fortune and had seen all his plans realized. His interest in the Western Department was bought by Pratte, Chouteau and Company. In 1838, this firm was changed to P. Chouteau, Jr., and Company, and from that time until the decline of the fur trade the business was entirely in the hands of Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

### 3. THE POSTS OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

**Fort Union.**—The most important trading post on the Upper Missouri was Fort Union. It was built in 1828 and at first was named Fort Floyd.

The name was changed to Fort Union in 1829. The trade was with the Assiniboinés. Kenneth McKenzie was the first master of the post, and of the posts above Fort Union. Chittenden says: "From his headquarters at Fort Union, McKenzie ruled over an extent of country greater than that of many a notable empire in history. His outposts were hundreds of miles away. His parties of trappers roamed far and wide through the fastnesses of the mountains. From every direction tribes of roving Indians came to his posts to trade."

**Major Alexander Culbertson.** — Alexander Culbertson was the next master of the post. He had gone to Fort McKenzie as a clerk when a young man of twenty-four and in a few years was sent to Fort Union as master. At the age of thirty-nine, he was made agent for the whole company, with headquarters at St. Louis.

**Last days at Fort Union.** — For several years no especial record is to be found of doings at Fort Union. Charles Larpenteur, who was one of the clerks at Fort Union, tells us in his Journals of the last days at Fort Union. "In the spring of 1864, I made arrangements with Mr. Chouteau to take charge of Fort Union — We arrived early in the morning and came in sight of the fort unobserved. The doors were all closed and not a living object was stirring except some buffalo, passing about three hundred yards from the fort. But the door was soon opened, the flag hoisted, and the artillery fired, to which salute the boat responded. We were informed that the Sioux had been and were still so bad



that the men dared not keep the doors open. . . . On the 13th of June, Mr. Chouteau arrived with his steamer, the 'Yellowstone,' bringing a company of soldiers for the protection of the fort and of the Assiniboinés. It was Company I, Wisconsin Volunteers, commanded by Captain Greer; and Major Wilkinson, the Indian Agent, also arrived. The Yellowstone left for Benton the same day. On the second of July, it returned from Benton, and after all arrangements had been made, I took charge of Fort Union for the last year of the American Fur Company. On the 5th of June, 1865, Mr. Chouteau arrived on the Yellowstone in great distress; having been reported as a rebel, he could not obtain a license and was obliged to sell out all his trading posts, except Benton; all other posts he sold to Hubble, Hawley and Co., of which A. B. Smith of Chicago was the head; it was called 'The Northwest Fur Company.'" This Mr. Chouteau was Charles P. Chouteau, the son of Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

**Fort Benton.**—Fort Piegan and its successors, Fort McKenzie, Fort Chardon, Fort Lewis, and Fort Benton, were all near the site of the present Fort Benton. They were all practically the same post, as their trade was with the same Indians every year. The sites were changed to suit the convenience of the Indians.

**Fort Piegan.**—Fort Piegan was built by James Kipp in the fall of 1831, at the mouth of the Marias. He was accompanied by about seventy-five men. They had come up the river in a keel-boat laden with goods. The first winter's trade was more suc-

cessful than they had hoped, but because of the remoteness from civilization and the severity of the winter, the men were unwilling to serve another year, so when Kipp returned to Fort Union in the spring to take down furs and bring up supplies for the next season, all the men accompanied him, with the exception of three, who were left partly to assure the Indians that the company had not deserted the spot and partly because they were satisfied with the savage life and had taken to themselves wives from the Piegans. The fort had been built as near to the river as possible, so that the goods could be easily moved from the boats. As the Missouri is ever changing its channel, in the course of time the banks were gradually washed away, until long ago the site of old Fort Piegan was washed into the river.

**Fort McKenzie.** — In the summer of 1832, David D. Mitchell, with sixty men, went up the river and built the second post, naming it Fort McKenzie. The Indians had burnt Fort Piegan. When he took the furs to Fort Union in the spring of 1833, he was accompanied on his return trip by Major Alexander Culbertson, who had recently arrived from St. Louis and had been assigned to duty at Fort McKenzie.

**Chardon in charge.** — In 1841, Major Culbertson was transferred to Fort Laramie, one of the posts on the Platte River, and Fort McKenzie was put in charge of F. A. Chardon, a man who had had some experience with the Sioux. Major Culbertson was unwilling to go because he was afraid that Chardon was not the right man to leave with the Blackfeet,

but he had to obey orders. His fears were realized, for in a short time Chardon antagonized the Blackfeet. The Indians immediately declared war and it was found necessary to abandon the fort, "a post that for ten years had been one of the most profitable maintained by the American Fur Company."

**Fort Chardon.**—Fort F. A. Chardon was then built at the mouth of the Judith and Fort McKenzie was burned. None but the Piegans traded at Fort Chardon and they gradually stopped until there was no trade at all. The Indians were so hostile that it was necessary for the men to remain within the walls of the fort most of the time. The Indians even carried their hostility as far as Fort Union, driving off the horses and killing two men.

Much against his will, Major Culbertson was put in charge of the post again. He was the only man who was capable of straightening out the difficulty, for the Indians knew him and knew that they could trust him. It took some time to build the new post for they had to be careful to keep the Indians in ignorance of their plans until everything was ready for the trade. When all was completed, word was sent by an old Blackfoot, who happened to come near the fort, to his people, with presents of tobacco and blankets, inviting them to come to the post to a council. The new post was named Fort Lewis.

The Indians came and talked the matter over with Major Culbertson, whom they knew to be their friend. The Indians agreed to be at peace, and with a distribution of presents, they departed to their village. Fort Chardon was burned down and all the

effects moved to Ft. Lewis. Trade was restored and a profitable season followed.

**Fort Lewis.** — In 1846, Fort Lewis was removed to the present site of Fort Benton, but retained the old name. It was practically the same building, as the same timbers were used and were put in the same position as before. The season was a most profitable one, as the new location was more convenient, it having been necessary before for the Indians to cross the river, a dangerous undertaking, especially in winter.

**Fort Benton.** — In 1850, an adobe fort was built at Fort Benton, in place of Fort Lewis, and it was dedicated on Christmas night with a grand ball and renamed at the time in honor of Thomas H. Benton. Andrew Dawson, for whom Dawson County was named, was left in charge of Fort Benton after the departure of Major Culbertson, and he remained in charge as long as the company operated in Montana.

**The Yellowstone posts.** — Fort Cass was the first trading post of the American Fur Company on the Yellowstone. It was built by A. J. Tulloch, two miles below the mouth of the Big Horn, in 1832. Larpenteur says, in his "Forty Years a Fur-Trader": Tulloch's "first returns consisted mostly of elk, deer, and all kinds of horns, which made great mirth at Fort Union; yet his trade had been profitable." Trade was opened again, the next year, and continued until 1835. This was considered a dangerous post because of wandering bands of Blackfeet, who became so persistent that the men were even afraid to go out to chop wood.

The Crows were rather changeable, asking the removal of the post from time to time. Van Buren was the second post built. It was at the mouth of the Rosebud and was continued from 1835 to 1842, at which latter date it was replaced by Fort Alexander. Charles Larpenteur built this fort and burned old Fort Van Buren. Fort Alexander gave way to Fort Sarpy, which was built by Alexander Culbertson, in 1850, at the mouth of the Rosebud.

#### 4. TRANSPORTING GOODS TO THE MOUNTAINS

By land. — The Rocky Mountain Fur Company usually sent their goods overland to the Green River Country by pack train. When the traders started on their return to St. Louis with the season's furs, they were indeed an imposing sight. In Hyde's "History of St. Louis" we read that "an eyewitness who met a cavalcade, states that the pack-horses, richly laden with bales of valuable furs and peltries, the hunters and assistants accompanying them, and a lot of half-breeds with their squaws and papooses filling in the open spaces, made a line that stretched for a mile along the road." And Larpenteur says in his journals: "It is impossible to describe my feelings at the sight of all that beaver — all those mountain men unloading their mules in their strange mountain costume, most of their garments of buckskin and buffalo hide, but all so well greased and worn that it took close examination to tell what they were made of."

By water. — The four primitive types of boats used by the explorers were the only kind used on

the Upper Missouri until 1831. Steamboats had been in use around St. Louis since 1817, but no one had thought it was possible to go to the Upper River in a steamboat. The first man to try if it were possible was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the fur trader. He found that it could be done and went up as far as Fort Union. Almost thirty years later, his son, Charles P. Chouteau, found that steamboats could go even as far as Fort Benton.

**Steamboats.** — Just fancy the wonder and fear of the Indians at seeing a great white object sailing majestically up the river, without any apparent means of locomotion, and great columns of smoke pouring out of two stacks! This was no time for arrows and spears. The proper procedure was to get out of the way of the monster. But "familiarity breeds contempt," and after a few times they were standing on the bank, watching the boats go by. Then we read about how one time a band stood threateningly on the shore before a boat, thrusting their spears into the ground. Now this in the Indian sign language meant that the white men must stop for a council. The early voyagers well knew all these signs and also knew that they must obey the Indians' wishes or there would be trouble further on. Drawing up to the bank, the captain and officers landed, and they were questioned as to their business in that country, what their destination and intention. They answered that they were the fur traders bound for the Upper River country; that they had articles for trade with the Assiniboines; that their intentions were peaceable and that they would return to St.

Louis when the season was over. Although the Indians were rather suspicious, they finally consented to allow them to proceed, but only on condition that they take the chief along with them to assure him that all was well. This they willingly did and there was no further trouble.

As the years passed, the Indians began to look for the annual boats in anticipation and eventually to look upon the Americans as a people to be admired for their great works, at least more so than the French or English. No such boats were to be seen on Canadian rivers in the West, therefore they were glad to give their trade to this superior nation.

The steamboats looked much larger than they really were, because they rode almost entirely upon the surface of the water, the hull being only about three or four feet in the water. The topmost deck was a small one, known as the Texas. It contained the officers' quarters. On top of that was the pilot house, which stood high up over the boat and the river, giving the pilot every opportunity to see the channel and any dangers in the way. The pilot was the most important officer on the boat. He even outranked the captain. He had to be a man of unusual knowledge and judgment, able to locate snags and swift currents. A careless man would be a menace to the boat.

After the steamboats had once made their way up to Fort Union, the smaller boats were not so much used from there to St. Louis, but they were still used all through the most important of the fur-trading days, from Fort Union to Fort Benton. We

must think, then, of the steamboating days in Montana as not beginning until 1859, a period which belongs to the part of the story of the prospectors.

### 5. NOTED TRAPPERS

**Trappers.** — The wanderings of the trappers took them into many hitherto unexplored parts of the West, giving them a knowledge of the country which was of great value to the government expeditions of later days. Chittenden says: "It was the trader and trapper who first explored and established the routes of trade which are now, and always will be, the avenues of commerce in that region. *They* were the 'pathfinders' of the West, and not those later official explorers whom posterity so recognizes. No feature of western geography was ever *discovered* by government explorers after 1840. Everything was already known, and had been for a decade."

**James Bridger.** — James Bridger is a familiar name to Westerners, and yet there is little written about him in history. He had such a distinct personality that all who came in contact with him remembered him. He came to the mountains first in 1822, at the age of eighteen, with Ashley and Andrew Henry. While in the service of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, he explored the Great Salt Lake in 1824-5, and by 1830 he had visited the Yellowstone. He was with the American Fur Company for seven years. At the end of that time he set up an establishment of his own at the head of the Green River, not far from the Great Salt Lake. This he called Fort Bridger. He chose a convenient site



for it, for afterward both the Oregon Trail and the Salt Lake Trail passed by his door and he became a character well known to all emigrants and prospectors. Reuben G. Thwaites, in one of his volumes of "Early Western Travels," says of him: "There he lived for many years with his Indian wife (a Shoshone), greatly aiding Western emigration. His ability as a topographer was remarkable and he knew the Trans-Mississippi country as did few others. His services as a guide were therefore in great demand for all Government and large private expeditions, General Sheridan consulting him in reference to an Indian campaign as late as 1868. As the West became civilized and lost its distinctive frontier features, Bridger retired to a farm near Kansas City, where he died in 1881. His name is attached to several western regions, notably Bridger's Peak in southwestern Montana. The figure of the trapper in the dome of the Montana state capitol, at Helena, is said to be a portrait of this picturesque character. He was so noted for his remarkable tales of western adventures and wonders that his descriptions of Yellowstone Park were long uncredited, being contemptuously referred to as 'Jim Bridger's Lies.'"

#### 6. THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY IN MONTANA

**The Oregon Country.**—The western part of Montana was, at the time of the fur-trade, a portion of the Oregon Country, and did not become United States territory until 1846. Until the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, in 1846, the Oregon Country was a disputed piece of ground and both

British and American companies traded there. The Hudson Bay Company, being the oldest and strongest, was the only company which had regular trading posts on the headwaters of the Columbia. This company was the pioneer fur company of North America, having been in operation since 1670. The Northwestern Company was its great rival. This was organized in 1783 by the leading merchants of Canada, and at once began explorations to the extreme west and north, and was not satisfied until the Pacific Ocean and the mouth of the McKenzie were reached.

**Post on Clark's Fork.**— Thus in 1810, one Thompson, who was an employee of the Northwestern Company, explored the sources of the Columbia and established a post on Clark's Fork, near the present town of Thompson Falls. This was probably a temporary post, as we have been able to find nothing further about it. It was called Flathead or Saleesh House, but it must not be confused with the Flathead House which was afterward established by the Hudson Bay Company on Post Creek, near the foot of Flathead Lake. In 1821 the two companies united, and the name of the Hudson Bay retained, as it was the older company.

**Fort Colville.**— The principal post on the Upper Columbia was Fort Colville, it bearing the same relation to the Columbia and its branches that Fort Union did to the Missouri and Yellowstone. In trading with the Flatheads, the Hudson Bay Company sent out goods to Horse Plains from Fort Colville, and here the traders were met by the Indians.

**Angus McDonald.** — Angus McDonald was a clerk in the Hudson Bay Company and was at one time in charge of Fort Colville. In one of his manuscripts, now in the Historical Library in Helena, he speaks of an old post above Thompson Falls, which was last occupied by himself and a party of men in 1849. This may have been the same post built by Thompson in 1810, but we have no authority for so stating.

McDonald built the Flathead House about thirty miles south of Flathead Lake, on Post Creek, at the foot of the Mission Range of mountains, in 1847. This post was torn down several years ago. Duncan McDonald, the son of the old trader, was for several years clerk at Flathead House. He is now a prosperous farmer on the Jocko. During the trading days, the Indians who came to the post were Flatheads and their allied tribes. Sometimes there would be as many as a thousand lodges of Nez Perces camped in the Valley. In 1872, the Hudson Bay Company sold all their claims to the United States, and at that time the post was abandoned.

Such traders as Major Culbertson and Angus McDonald had a great influence for good over the Indians. The Indians trusted them and learned to think more of the white race than they were at first disposed to do. In one of their councils, an old Indian expressed his feelings to Angus McDonald in the following words: "I am already old; I was young when I heard of you; I was far when I heard of you; and you gave flour and ammunition and blankets and shirts and flints and awls and thread to our people; and you covered our dead and you

went to see the sick. For all that and for more than that we heard of you. The white man says he has a God, and says he has a priest, and says he has a Christ. You often were a Christ to us. Our distressed were relieved by you; we preserve you in our hearts with good will, and keep you there as a Great Chief. You are here and our hearts and our eyes are glad you came."

**No other posts in Montana.**—It is well for the reader to remember that the Hudson Bay Company had no posts in Montana except this one among the Flatheads, and that the companies had no other connection with Montana history, as far as we know, with the exception of occasional trapping parties into the mountains, and the trading of our Indians up at their posts in Canada.

## 7. THE JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF THE FUR TRADERS

**Journals.**—In the fur-trading days some of the traders kept journals but very few of these are in a shape for general reading. The head men of the posts thought that these traders were wasting a lot of time. They made fun of them, calling them "Scribbling clerks." To those of us who are able to find them, these journals are of the greatest value.

**Two Journals accessible.**—Only two journals which have any connection with Montana history are at present in shape to be used by the general public. One is called "The River of the West." It is an account by Mrs. F. F. Victor, taken from the journals of the trapper Joseph Meek. This is

an old book, not found in many libraries. The other journal is that of Charles Larpenteur. This has been published and edited by Elliott Coues, under the name, "Forty Years a Fur Trader." The editorial notes are as valuable as the journal itself, for Dr. Coues had access to other journals and was able to verify certain parts and correct misstatements.

**Washington Irving's Bonneville.**—A good many years ago one of the old journals fell into the hands of Washington Irving, who took extensive notes from it and wrote a book entitled "The Rocky Mountains," which is now published under the name of "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville." Bonneville's mountain life was spent more to the south of the present Montana, but his description of fur-trading days applies to Montana as well as Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah. Washington Irving, in his preface, tells us how he found the journals, and how Bonneville wrote them. He tells us that into the journals he has interwoven stories that he himself heard from other mountain men, and has given it a "tone and coloring drawn from his own observation during an excursion into the Indian country beyond the bounds of civilization." But the work is principally Bonneville's, and many of the passages are in the words of the original journal. In this work is a good description of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and the life of the trappers is told in a most interesting way.

General Chittenden says in his "History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West": "It will not be far wrong to say that the greatest service which

Capt. Bonneville rendered his country was by falling into the hands of Washington Irving. . . . His luckiest accident was in furnishing the occasion for the production of Irving's description of Rocky Mountain life during the best days of the fur trade. *Capt. Bonneville* as this work is now commonly called, is a true and living picture of those early scenes, and taken with *Astoria* will ever remain our highest authority upon the events to which they relate. . . . *Astoria* and *Capt. Bonneville* are the classics of the American fur trade, unapproached and unapproachable in their particular field."

W. A. Ferris. — Another of the traders kept a journal and afterward published a part of it in a series of magazine articles. This was many years ago and the magazine is hard to find. Chittenden says that the journal abounds in valuable information relating to the fur trade and is "our sole authority on a number of points. It contains for example the first written description by an eye-witness of the geysers of the Yellowstone."

Correspondence of the American Fur Company. — The Chouteau family of St. Louis have fallen heir to a large correspondence carried on by the fur-trading members of their family with the traders at the posts on the Upper Missouri. Chittenden says: "These documents comprise correspondence, journals, records of business accounts and other papers, some of them dating back into the eighteenth century. Many of them are in the French language and a few in the Spanish. There are occasional gaps and omissions and many documents have evidently been lost,

or their present whereabouts are unknown, but enough are still in existence to settle most of the doubtful points upon the operations of the St. Louis traders."

**Other manuscripts.** — Other letters and journals are in the possession of descendents of the fur traders. Many of these are the only authority upon many points connected with the history of the fur trade. It will probably be many years before these are published, for there is not enough demand at present for books about that period of our history.

**Editors of the journals.** — We should be grateful to such men as General Chittenden, Dr. Elliott Coues, and Reuben Gold Thwaites, who have searched out all the old records and made some of them available for our use. Chittenden's "American Fur Trade of the Far West" would come under the head of "secondary sources," but it is as valuable to us as a primary source for he has gone to the primary sources and brought out from them for our use the points that would be of the greatest interest to us and which we may never get in a printed form. His work is more to be trusted in some cases, too, than the originals for he has compared all the writings and determined the truth by the comparison.

## PART IV

### VISITORS TO THE POSTS

#### 1. PRINCE MAXIMILIAN

**European scientists.** — The news of the discovery of the Great West extended to Europe, and scientists became interested in hearing about the new country, about the different animals and flowers and the tribes of Indians to be found there. No books had been written on the subject and the only way they could find out anything was through letters from the fur traders.

**Prince Maximilian.** — One German scientist, Prince Maximilian from Coblenz on the Rhine, was an extensive traveler. He had been over a large part of South America, and, in 1833, although he was an old man of seventy years, he determined to see for himself this interesting new country.

**In St. Louis.** — In that early day every one who was going up into the mountains or beyond the settlements went first to St. Louis. It was the largest settlement on the frontier, the best place to buy an outfit and find men to help in transporting goods. Like all others, Maximilian went first to St. Louis. While he was there preparing for his journey



he made the acquaintance of Pierre Chouteau, who was so actively interested in the fur trade.

**The boats in which he traveled.**—He made the voyage up as far as Fort Union on the Yellowstone, one of the first steamboats to go up the Missouri. The boat was at that time making her third trip. The voyage from Fort Union to Fort McKenzie was made in a keel-boat with the fur traders. In returning, mackinaw boats were used.

**Events of the trip.**—The steamboat voyage was uneventful, except for the gathering of unusual specimens. Nothing out of the ordinary routine of one of the old posts happened for the two weeks that Maximilian stayed at Fort Union.

The voyage on the keel-boat was more exciting. At the Judith River they were hailed by a large band of Gros Ventres who wanted to come on the boat and trade. D. D. Mitchell, who had charge of the goods, wanted to wait until they reached Fort McKenzie, but, as the number of men on the boat were only about fifty, and the Indians numbered eight or nine hundred, they could not openly refuse to trade. Mitchell understood the Indians and knew how to handle them; he finally persuaded them to wait until they reached the fort. He was not afraid of any violence although the Indians swarmed all over the boat, looking into all the apartments and examining everything. The Prince and the men of the boat were badly frightened for they thought that there would surely be trouble if the Indians did not get what they wished. At last the boat was cleared of the intruders, and the Prince could enjoy the

beauties of the landscape, which at this point was the place so admired by Lewis and Clark, and which they had named "The Stone Walls."

**Fort McKenzie.** — As they were drawing near to Fort McKenzie, they were received with delight by the men of the post. The Indians and those employed at the post were lined up all along the bank. They were led up through a double line of Indians, the costumes of the latter being very amusing to the Prince. He says: "When we arrived at the fort there was no end of shaking of hands. We had happily accomplished the voyage from Fort Union in thirty-four days, had lost none of our people, and subsisted during the whole time by the produce of the chase."

The trade with the Indians was a novel experience, and the Prince kept his artist busy with the portraits of the most unique of the characters. After a few days, while the trading was still going on, some trouble began in the camps of the Indians. The condition was serious for a while and the traders finally had to take a hand and drive the intruders away. This was the time that the Assiniboines made the attack upon Fort McKenzie that was mentioned in the chapter on the Indians.

**Maximilian leaves Fort McKenzie.** — The hostility of the Assiniboines shortened the visit of Prince Maximilian. In order to give him transportation down the river he had to wait until a mackinaw boat was built, which was done within the walls of the fort. It took twenty-one men to carry it to the river after it was completed. It was none too large

for the Prince's specimens, among which were cages with two live bears. Six men accompanied him and they left the fort September 14th, 1833, after a stay of five weeks.

**Destruction of the specimens.** — On the way down to Fort Union the Prince's collection of wild flowers was ruined by water. This was a hard blow, but he suffered a more severe one later on, — for after he had stored his whole collection on a steamer going down to St. Louis, the steamer took fire and burned. A terrible disappointment this was, for the collection would have been a valuable addition to any museum.

**A pleasant memory.** — Maximilian's visit was one long remembered at the posts, for he was a unique character and caused a great deal of merriment among the men.

## 2. CATLIN THE INDIAN PAINTER

**George Catlin.** — Another scientist had been up as far as Fort Union before Maximilian. This was George Catlin, the famous Indian painter. He had gone up the Missouri in 1832 on the first steamboat that went up to Fort Union. He spent the whole summer at Fort Union making sketches of Indians and traders.

## 3. AUDUBON, THE NATURALIST

**Early life.** — Another scientist of note visited the Upper Missouri Country some ten years later. This was John James Audubon, a native of the South, having been born on a plantation in Louisiana, of French parents. Early in his boyhood he displayed a love for ornithology, which his father encouraged,

sending him to Europe to be educated at the age of fifteen. On his return, his father settled him on a farm in Pennsylvania, but his mind was so set on his studies of birds and other animals that he neglected his farm, spending much of the time in the woods with his gun and dog. These long excursions into the woods fitted him for others more extended.

**Quadrupeds of North America.**—Not until he had been in Europe for some years attending to the publication of his works, and not until he was sixty-three years old, did he make this trip to Fort Union. He was preparing a work which was to be known as “The Quadrupeds of North America,” and he was seeking information for it on his western trip.

**In St. Louis.**—He arrived in St. Louis on the 28th of March, 1843, but it was the middle of April before the ice in the river was broken sufficiently for the steamer “The Omega” to start up the river safely. While waiting he employed his time in studying the animals around St. Louis and cultivating the acquaintance of Pierre Chouteau, whom Audubon found “a worthy old man so kind and so full of information about the countries of the Indians.”

**Up the river.**—Audubon mentions the French-Canadian or Creole trappers who were on board the boat. Some of these men probably had served as voyageurs on the keel-boats in earlier years.

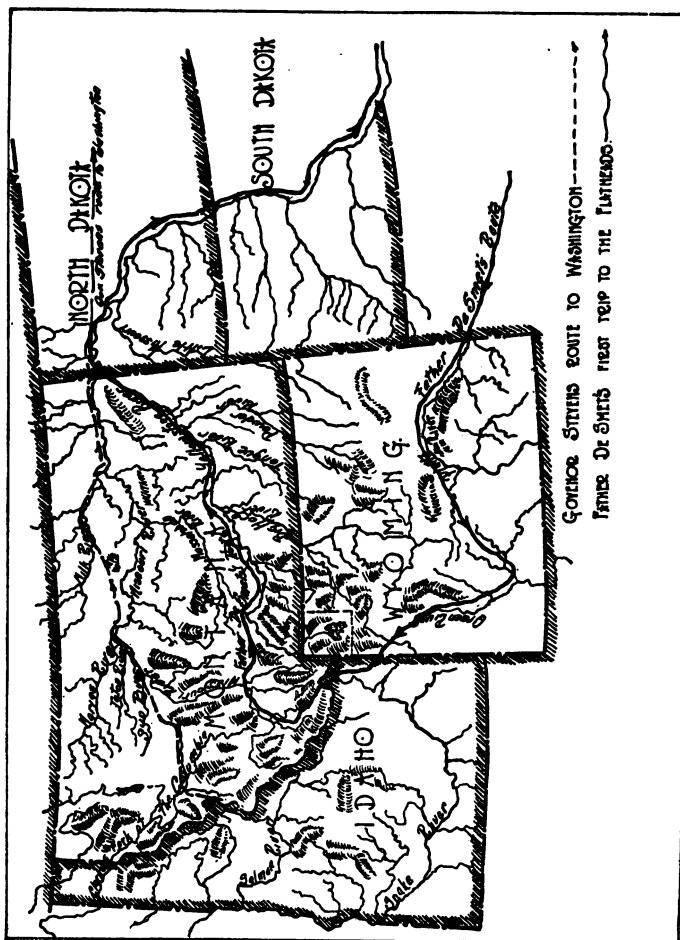
Near Independence, Missouri, they met another steamer coming down the river. On this was Father DeSmet, who was on his way back to St. Louis, after having been among the Flathead Indians. He and several army officers, who were fellow passengers

with him, came on board "The Omega" to greet Mr. Audubon. Father DeSmet was peculiarly able to tell him all about the country that he wanted to know. We can tell from Father DeSmet's letters that he was a man interested in all around him, and keenly appreciated all the natural wonders of the Upper Country.

At Fort Union. — On the 31st of May, "The Omega" reached Fort Pierre in South Dakota where they stayed for a few days, and, continuing their journey up the river arrived at Fort Union on the 12th of June. Mr. Audubon found the master of the fort, Major Culbertson, "a companionable man, ready and willing at all times to add to the collection of birds and animals." Mrs. Culbertson, too, he found, was "handsome, and really courteous and refined in many ways." This was rather surprising to the traveler, as she was a full-blooded Blackfoot Indian. She was the daughter of a chief and was very proud of her Indian blood. It was October before Mr. Audubon arrived in St. Louis again. His long journey had been a trying one, but in spite of his age we find no complaint in all the pages of his journal, except that occasionally he must give up some extra exertion on account of his years.

#### 4. FATHER DESMET

First missionary to Montana. — Father DeSmet, the first missionary to the Montana tribes, came out in 1840 to minister to the Flathead Indians. He came to the mountains by the land route with the fur traders who were bound for Green River. He



GOVERNOR STEVENS' ROUTE TO WASHINGTON AND FATHER DESMET'S  
FIRST TRIP TO THE FLATHEADS



returned by the way of the Yellowstone River and the Missouri but he did not stop to visit at the posts.

**Visits the Blackfeet.**—In 1846 he went over the mountains into the Blackfoot country from the Bitter Root Valley to meet these Indians in order to bring about a peace between the tribes. He met them in the Yellowstone Valley and went with them to Fort Lewis (which was the new name for Fort McKenzie). He and a companion were at Fort Lewis for some time, holding councils with the Indians. After Father DeSmet went on to St. Louis he left Father Point at the post for the winter, who established a mission there.

#### 5. GOV. ISAAC I. STEVENS

**First governor of Montana.**—Toward the close of the fur-trading days an important party of visitors came to Fort Union and Fort Benton. They were Governor Isaac I. Stevens, the newly appointed Governor of Washington Territory (which then included the western part of Montana) and a party of surveyors, who under the direction of the Governor were looking for the most practicable route for a railroad across the continent.

The surveyors were in different parties, some of them going up the river to Fort Union by boat, and the others going overland from St. Paul and Fort Union, on mules, their baggage being carried by ox-teams.

**At Fort Union.**—The traveling equipment of the surveyors was only sufficient to take them to Fort



Union, and while at this post they were occupied in outfitting themselves for their journey across the mountains. Pembina carts were made of cottonwood logs, and other transportation was purchased of the fur company. From the company they also secured guides and hunters. As their investigations were to extend over the winter time they were glad to accept from the Indian women at the fort — wives of the traders — presents of gloves and moccasins and other comforts of early traveling days.

**Surveying near Fort Union.** — While this work of outfitting was going on some of the men were engaged in surveying trips out from the post. They thoroughly explored the country to find out which would be the best route for a railroad.

**At Fort Benton.** — After nine days spent at Fort Union they pushed on up the valley. When they arrived at Fort Benton, they examined voyageurs and Indians in regard to the mountain passes, and general character of the country, to find if it would be possible to cross the mountains in winter, for a railroad would be of little use if it was closed from traffic in the winter time. In order to learn all about the situation “winter posts were established at Fort Benton, and in the St. Mary’s Valley (now known as the Bitter Root Valley”).

**On to Olympia.** — The main party then continued their journey to Olympia, the capital of the new territory, Washington. They went over Cadotte’s Pass which was about twelve miles south of the one taken by Lewis on the return of the Lewis and Clark expedition. At the summit of the divide

Governor Stevens took formal possession as Governor of his new field, for at that time the main divide of the Rocky Mountains formed the eastern boundary of Washington Territory.

At Fort Benton again. — In 1855 Governor Stevens was back at Fort Benton. This time it was to hold



GOV. STEVENS DISTRIBUTING GOODS

the council with the Montana tribes which we told of in the chapter about the Indians.

A boy messenger. — In Governor Stevens's "Life" we read the following:

"My son Hazard, thirteen years of age, had accompanied me from Olympia to the waters of the Missouri. Like all youths of that age, he was always ready for the saddle, and had spent some days with one of my hunting parties on the Judith, where he had become acquainted with the Gros Ventres. When

we determined to change the council from Fort Benton to the mouth of the Judith, I undertook the duty of seeing the necessary messages sent to the various bands and tribes and to bring them all to the mouth of the Judith at the proper moment. . . . I succeeded in securing the services of a fit and reliable man for each one of the bands and tribes, except the Gros Ventres camped on Milk River. There were several men, who had considerable experience among the Indians and in voyageuring, who desired to go, but I had no confidence in them, and accordingly I started my little son as a messenger to the Gros Ventres. Accompanied by the interpreter, Legare, he made that Gros Ventres camp before dark, a distance of seventy-five miles, and gave his message the same evening to the chiefs. . . . they were in the saddle early in the morning, and reached my camp at half past three. Thus a youth of thirteen traveled one hundred and fifty measured miles from ten o'clock of one day to half past three o'clock of the next."

#### 6. THE BOOKS THEY WROTE

**Accounts of their travels.**—What has made the visits of these famous men so important is that they have written such extensive accounts of their journeys. They have given us an idea of the conditions in those days that we could not otherwise have had. They have told us about little things that the traders thought too trivial to set down in their journals.

**Prince Maximilian.**—Upon his return to Europe Prince Maximilian published an account of his

travels which is very extensive. It covers all sorts of subjects, the Indians and the animals, geology, plants, and description of the country, as well as interesting stories and bits of history. The great drawback is that it is published in German, and for that reason it is inaccessible to the general public. However, an abridged edition of it has been given us by Reuben G. Thwaites in his "Early Western Travels." A copy of the original edition in German is one of the treasures in the library of Peter Koch of Bozeman. Chittenden says that Maximilian is the most reliable published authority upon the early history of the American Fur Company.

**Catlin's pictures.** — We are told that in his great interest in everything pertaining to Indian life, George Catlin was prejudiced and his pictures were not always true to life. Chittenden says: "It is regrettable that one who did so much work of real worth should have marred it by a characteristic which throws doubt upon the accuracy of it all." But in spite of the fact that so much is inaccurate, his work is still referred to by students of history of that time, for he gives pictures of a condition of life which has gone out of existence.

**Audubon's journals.** — In the journals which were originally published, Audubon very briefly mentioned his journey to Fort Union, and little was known about it until 1896 when two of his granddaughters found a part of his journal that before was not known to exist. It was in the back of an old secretary. It gives a very full description of Fort Union, of the lives of the traders and of the conditions as they were in his day.

**Father DeSmet's Journals and Indian sketches.** — All the time that Father DeSmet was traveling about the West he was writing letters to his friends. He kept his journals too, so that now his works are in four or five large volumes. Maximilian and Audubon were more interested in animals and plant life, while Father DeSmet's special interest was the Indians. He did not overlook anything, however, and we find his letters full of descriptions of the country, the animals, and flowers, as well as the Indian life. He has also written some Indian sketches that give an idea of the Indian's conception of Christianity.

**Report of the survey.** — The United States Government has made an extensive report of the survey in all its divisions. This is in thirteen large volumes. It gives the experiences with the Indian tribes, the finding of the trails and passes; descriptions of the animals and plants, and rivers and mountains, which they saw upon the way, and the posts of the fur traders. Three of these volumes are devoted to the 47th parallel and the work of Governor Stevens.

**Governor Stevens.** — The life of Governor Stevens has been compiled by his son Hazard from the Governor's letters and journals. This gives many interesting events not mentioned in the report. The outcome of the council of 1855 is especially interesting, giving the conversation of the chiefs and describing all the scenes of the council.

## PART V

### THE MISSIONARIES TO THE INDIANS

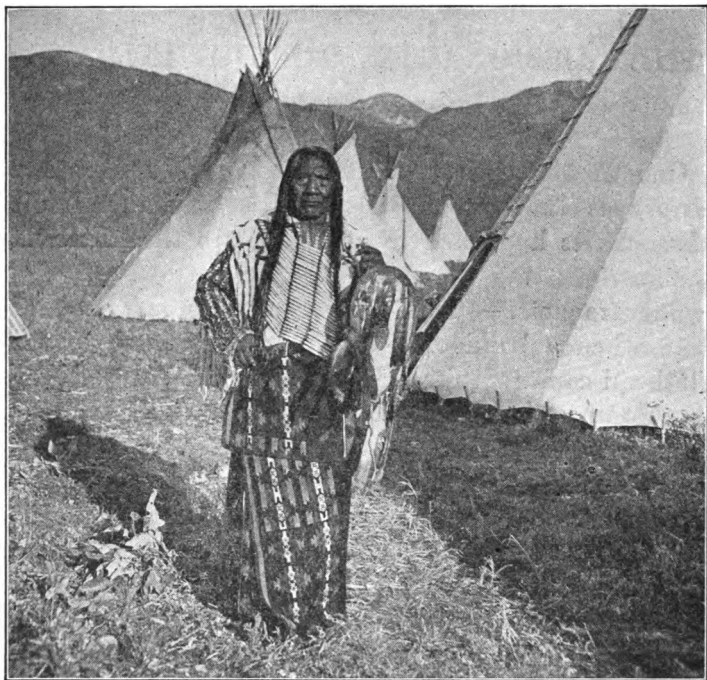
#### 1. THE IROQUOIS

One of the most interesting stories of Montana history is that which tells of the way the Jesuit Missionaries happened to go at first to the Montana Indians.

**The Iroquois.** — This story begins as far back as 1812 when a band of Iroquois Indians came to the Flathead country to trap for furs for the Hudson Bay Fur Company. The old Indians like to tell the story about how these Iroquois first watched the Flatheads from the neighboring hills, watched their everyday life, and saw how they lived, and decided to go down into their valley and make their home with these quiet, peaceable people. There were not more than half a dozen in this band of trappers. Some of them were full-blooded Iroquois and the others were French half-breeds. They had been trained in the ways of civilization in their Canadian home and they tried to show the Flatheads how they could lead a more comfortable life.

**Stories told to the Flatheads.** — One of the most interesting stories which the Iroquois told to the Flatheads was about the Black Robes who had gone to the Canadian Indians and taught them how to

till the soil and gain a living which was more to be depended upon than the search for wild fruits and game. The Flatheads were a religious people in their own beliefs and they were impressed with the



*Permission of N. A. Forsyth, Butte*

**CHARLOT. CHIEF OF THE FLATHEADS**

thought of the better life to be found in the belief of the white man as taught by the Black Robes. They wanted to know more about the Great Spirit and the Life which is to come. The Iroquois as a nation had not been friendly to the Black Robes, but a mere handful of their number who believed

the truth were able to carry the teachings of those missionaries far into the wilderness and make a beginning among new people which has been so wide-spreading in its influence.

## 2. FLATHEAD DELEGATIONS TO ST. LOUIS

**The first journey.**—Many years passed and we can imagine the nights that were spent around the campfires when the Flatheads would listen so intently to the stories of the Iroquois half-breeds. At last the enthusiasm of the Flatheads was raised to such an extent that four young men volunteered to go to St. Louis to ask to have Black Robes sent to them.

**The Green River route.**—It was in 1831 that they left their home in the Bitter Root Valley, going down, it is supposed through the Green River country to the Platte and then down the Missouri. There are conflicting stories told about the route but the best authorities say that it is supposed that they went in company with the traders who had their yearly rendezvous in the Green River Country and the headwaters of the Snake River. This supposition is very natural because the Flatheads and Nez Perces attended these rendezvous and the Indians arrived in St. Louis at the same time that the fur company's caravan did. Now, we can go to St. Louis in two days, but at that time the trip was a great undertaking; indeed, when the Iroquois first came to them, in 1812, it probably was more than any one would undertake, not so much because of the hardships but because of hostile tribes. After



fur traders began to operate extensively on the Missouri and its tributaries, there was more chance for a safe passage.

**In St. Louis.** — On their arrival in St. Louis, owing to the change in food and the climate, they all fell ill, and two of them died. Some authorities say that they were feasted and made a great deal of while in St. Louis, and others say that they found no one who could speak their language and they went back to the mountains without having any one know who they were or how they came. We do know that they went to see Governor Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and that Roman Catholic priests attended them when they were ill, and that the two who died were buried in the Catholic cemetery. They also impressed upon the minds of some what they desired, for the next spring missionaries were sent out by the Methodists of St. Louis.

**The way home.** — It is not known by what route they started home — whichever way it was, they fell in with hostile tribes or were killed by wild beasts, for they never reached the Flathead country.

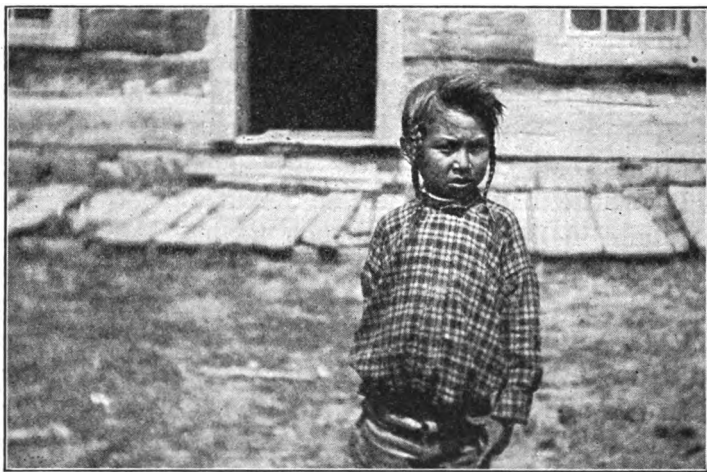
**The Flatheads at the Green River.** — In the meantime the Flatheads were waiting anxiously the return of their men. When the time of the rendezvous drew near they went down to the Green River to meet their long expected Black Robes. But no Jesuits had come and the Indians shook their heads in disappointment when they saw the Methodist missionaries and their wives. The Black Robes had no wives, so the Iroquois had said, and these men did not wear the black gowns. There was some mis-

take and as the four men who had been sent out had not yet returned it was known they must have met with some mortal danger. The Flatheads would accept no substitute for the Black Robes and they went back to their homes in disappointment, while the missionaries went on to Oregon and started their great missionary work there in which they were later joined by Marcus Whitman and Samuel Parker.

**Ignace Saxi.**—The Flatheads did not despair; they sent other messengers. Ignace Saxi offered to go back to Canada, his old home. He knew he could find priests there. He took his two sons Francis and Charles to be instructed and baptized. Before he had gone far he found that there were Jesuits in St. Louis, although he had thought that there could not be, because of their failure to respond to the first call. He accordingly changed his plans and went to St. Louis where he was told that men would be sent as soon as possible. Just at that time the Jesuits were not able to do any distant work because of lack of men. After his sons had been sufficiently instructed, Ignace returned with them to the mountains to tell the Flatheads the results of the expedition.

**Ignace Saxi again.**—After several months had passed and still no priests arrived, a third delegation was sent out headed by Ignace Saxi. There were three Flatheads and a Nez Perce in the party and they were joined at Fort Laramie by some of the Oregon Missionaries. At the Platte River the party fell in with a band of Sioux. A messenger was sent from the chief to Ignace to tell him that they were

about to attack the Flatheads, but as they did not care to fight any but the Flatheads, he, being Iroquois, would be given an opportunity to withdraw with the white men to a place of safety. Ignace replied that while he was by birth an Iroquois, the Flatheads were his adopted people and, if there was to be a battle he wanted to do his share of the fight.



A LITTLE FLATHEAD

ing. Another messenger was sent him just before the battle, who returned with the same answer. The Sioux greatly outnumbered the Flatheads. The latter were all killed, but not without a struggle. Ignace himself killed nine of the enemy before he died.

A fourth delegation. — The courage and patience of the Flatheads was not to be overcome by even so great difficulties. A fourth expedition was planned. Two Iroquois, Left-handed Peter and Young Ignace,

offered to go. They accompanied some Hudson Bay traders down to St. Louis where they were assured that a priest would be sent in the spring. One of the two stayed to guide the missionary to the mountains, while the other went home to tell the glad tidings to his people.

### 3. FATHER DESMET

**A Black Robe at last.** — A Jesuit, Father P. J. DeSmet, was the missionary chosen for the work. He set out in the spring of 1840. He went up the usual way to the Green River with the fur traders, where he met a few Flatheads who were to guide him to the camp of the Flatheads near Pierre's Hole. After he had talked with the Indians for a while, he knew that he alone could never teach them all they wanted to know. He decided to go back to St. Louis for helpers.

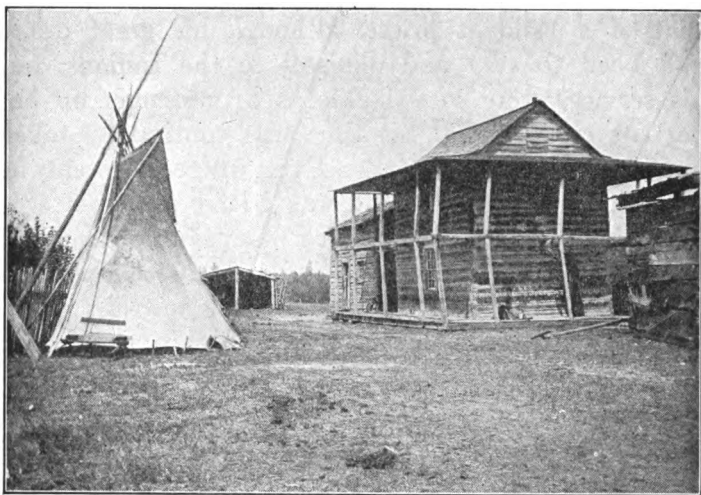
**Over to the Three Forks.** — He went with the Indians as far as the Three Forks of the Missouri. They were on their way back into their own territory. Their route lay over the mountains north of Pierre's Hole to Henry's Lake across to Red Rock Lake and down the Jefferson River to Jefferson Island, where they held a service, the first ever held in Montana. They continued on as far as the Three Forks of the Missouri where the time of the missionary was spent in baptizing the children and instructing the elders.

**Down the Yellowstone.** — At the Three Forks the Father left them after a month's time, first giving them his word that he would soon return. He crossed

over to the headwaters of the Yellowstone and went down that river with an escort of Flatheads and a Flemish man who had come with him from the rendezvous on the Green River. The Flatheads went as far as the Crow country with him, the rest of the way was made with the Flemish man alone. The Crows were very hospitable to the party, the Father being at a loss to know how to attend all the banquets tendered him. He found these Indians also anxious to have the Black Robes in their villages, but he was unable to make them any promises. In his letters he describes the journey down to St. Louis and the many frights they had. It was a journey of great peril for two lone men to take, but the end was reached in safety four months after leaving the Flatheads.

**Father DeSmet returns.** — In 1841 he returned with five companions, two of whom were priests and the others lay brothers. The priests were Fathers Gregory Mengarini and Nicholas Point and the brothers were William Claessens, Charles Huet, and Joseph Specht. The first of these brothers was a blacksmith, the second a carpenter, and the third a tinner. They went up the river over the same route previously traversed by Father DeSmet to the Green River and met the Indians in the Beaverhead Valley, going with them from thence over into the Bitter Root, by way of the Deer Lodge and Hell Gate Valleys. Then began the work which has since continued for seventy-five years and which has established the Roman Catholic Church on every reservation in Montana.

**Fort Colville.** — Before going far with the work it was necessary for Father DeSmet to make a trip to Fort Colville on the Columbia River for more supplies and tools. He visited this post again the following spring (1842) on his way to Fort Vancouver for additional supplies.



HOUSE BUILT BY THE INDIANS

**Back to St. Louis.** — On his return he made arrangements for a trip to St. Louis leaving the work with Fathers Mengarini and Point. He took the same route down the Yellowstone through the Crow Country that he had taken before. Arriving at St. Louis he finished a journey of 5,000 miles. He wrote: "I had descended and ascended the dangerous Columbia River. I had seen five of my companions perish in one of those life-destroying whirl-pools, so

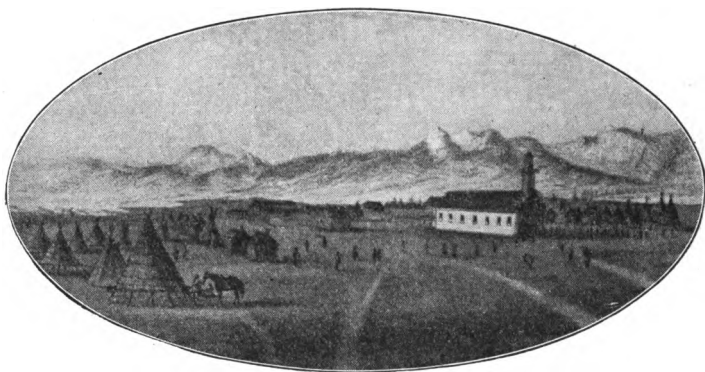
justly dreaded by those who navigate that stream. I had traversed the Willamette, crossed the Rocky Mountains, passed through the country of the Black-feet, the desert of the Yellowstone, and descended the Missouri; and in all of these I had not received the slightest injury."

**Later visits.**—Father DeSmet's work was not that of a resident priest, although his great desire had been to stay and minister to the Indians, but his services were so valuable as a messenger on important errands that his time was continually taken up with the latter work. Everywhere he went he was recognized as the Indian's friend and was able to pass through the countries of even hostile tribes in safety. He visited the Mission in 1845 and again in 1859, giving them encouragement in their work but not being able to stay but a short time on each occasion.

#### 4. ST. MARY'S MISSION

**In the Bitter Root Valley.**—The first missionary station was established in the Bitter Root Valley. It was named St. Mary's Mission. The little town of Stevensville grew up around it after the settlement of the valley by the white men. The missionaries lived among the Indians at first—in their skin lodges—learned to eat the same food, and went with them on their hunting expeditions. Gradually they taught them the ways of civilization, how to build log cabins for the winter, how to prepare the white man's food, and how to dress in the white man's clothes. Each year they added to their farm lands, teaching the

Indians how to till the soil and harvest the crops. After a little they began to gather together some chickens and pigs, horses and cattle. They had flocks of sheep too. All this took a great deal of time, because the live stock had to be brought a great way. The larger stock was driven up from the Spanish settlement in the Southwest (gold had not yet been discovered in California) or over the moun-



THE MISSION OF ST. IGNATIUS

ains from Fort Colville, on the Columbia, which was a Hudson Bay Company's fort. Their supply of tools, seeds, groceries, clothing, etc., were shipped from Europe to the mouth of the Columbia River and transported up that river.

**Father Ravalli.** — In 1844 Father Ravalli went out to the Missions. He had just arrived in America. He spent the first winter with the Kalispells where Father Palladino says of him: "Here he learned the wonderful secret of living without the necessities of life." He spent the rest of his life in the Bitter Root



Valley, where he ministered at first to the Indians and in later years to the white men as well. He was the beloved friend of all men. His grave is in the little cemetery at St. Mary's in Stevensville and the county in which the land lies bears his name. The Montana people thus pay a small tribute to the man who gave his all to save the souls of his fellow men.

The other pioneer priests, Fathers Mengarini and Point, were not long with the Flatheads. The former was transferred in 1850 to California, and the other in 1847 to Canada. Of the three lay brothers, William Claessens and Joseph Specht lived the rest of their lives with the Flatheads.

**St. Mary's closed.** — In 1850 it was found necessary to abandon the mission of St. Mary's because of the hostility of the Blackfeet. The buildings were sold to Major Owen, who built a fort near the site of the mission and traded with the Indians.

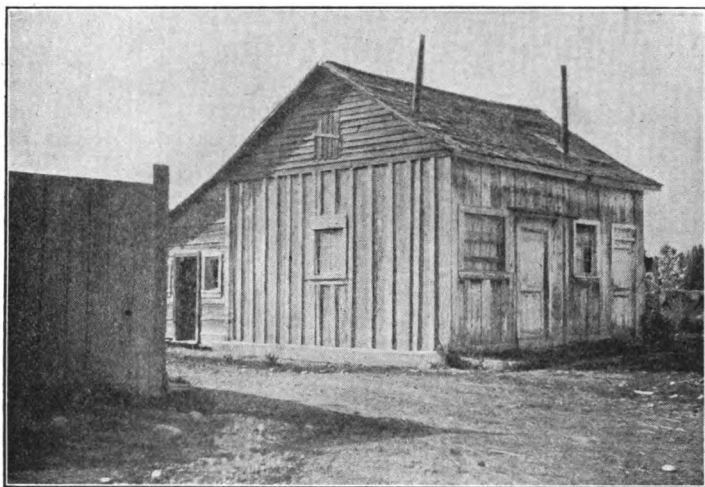
**Flatheads true to their faith.** — When Father DeSmet visited the Flatheads in 1859 he found that they had kept up as far as possible the teachings of the missionaries, even after the close of the mission. The chiefs held morning and evening prayers. The Angelus was rung as usual, and they observed the sacredness of Sunday.

**The mission again occupied.** — St. Mary's was again occupied by the Fathers from 1866 to 1891, during which time services were held and schools maintained. When the Flatheads at last went onto the Jocko Reservation to live, the mission was permanently abandoned. The old church still stands in

a good state of preservation, the citizens of Stevensville providing a caretaker for it.

### 5. ST. IGNATIUS MISSION

**St. Ignatius Mission.**—The mission of St. Ignatius was originally in the Pend d'Oreille country, but it was later moved to the Jocko Reservation,

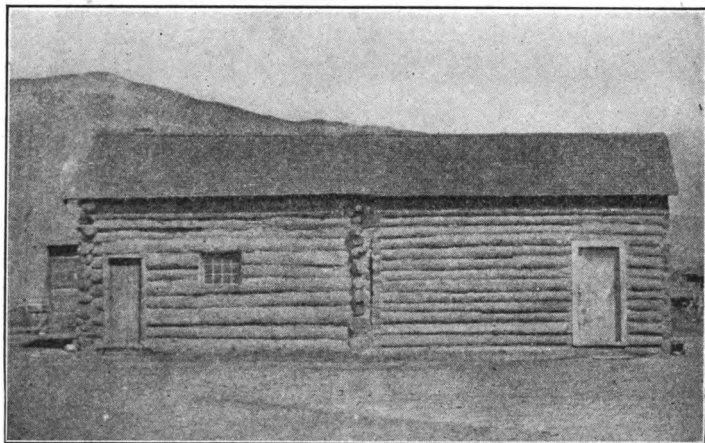


“THE HOUSE WHICH WAS BUILT FOR THEM”

where it is still in operation. Being in a secluded valley it was safe from the invasions of the Blackfeet.

**Life at the missions.**—As the Indians grew more civilized, and as the younger men grew up, they were encouraged to have farms of their own. Vegetables were extensively raised, especially carrots, of which the Indians were very fond. In the “Life of Governor I. I. Stevens” is the following account of the everyday life at the missions:

"I was enabled to observe the manner in which the affairs of the mission are conducted. Brother Charles (Huet) has charge of the buildings and attends to the indoor work, cooks, makes butter and cheese, issues provisions and pays the Indians for their work, which payment is made in tickets bearing a certain value 'good for so many potatoes, and



FIRST HOUSE OF THE MISSIONARIES

so much wheat,' etc. By this arrangement the Indians are able to procure their subsistence in the summer by hunting and fishing and have tickets in store for living during the winter. They are well contented, and I was pleased to observe habits of industry growing upon them. In the barn we saw their operations of threshing: four boys rode as many mules abreast in a circle, being followed by two girls with flails, who appeared to be perfectly at home in their business. There appeared to be a

great scarcity of proper implements and in digging potatoes many had nothing better than sharpened sticks."

**Sisters of the House of Providence.**—In 1864 four sisters of the House of Providence were sent out to the missions to assist in the education of the women and children. The house which was built for them to live in was of logs boarded on the outside, with the windows high up from the ground, a precaution against the curious eyes of the Indians. The Sisters found it a hard life; the journey in itself of several months duration was a hard and dangerous one. The Indians were much interested in them, many never having seen a white woman before.

## 6. BLACKFEET MISSIONS

**Father Point.**—The missionary work was not confined to the Flatheads although it was a number of years before any regular work was done among any of the other tribes. Father Point on his way to Canada in 1847 passed through the Blackfoot country, wintering at Fort Lewis, the principal post of the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri, and ministered to the Indians. During his few months stay with them he accomplished a great deal, visiting the different bands and spending with each several weeks. He was a skilful artist and won the hearts and the good-will of the chiefs by painting their portraits. Having translated by the help of an interpreter their prayers into the Blackfoot language he taught them to both the children and the adults. A volume of Indian drawings, apparently his work, is preserved in the University of St. Louis.

**Mission built.** — After the departure of Father Point there were no more missionaries among the Blackfeet until 1859, when Fathers Hoecken and Imoda were sent there. They found what they considered a suitable site for a mission on the Teton River near the present town of Chouteau. The Blackfeet were a restless, roving tribe and were constantly desiring the change of location. Soon after, it was reestablished, at Sun River, but the Fathers were shortly called away, Father Hoecken to the States and Father Imoda to the St. Ignatius Mission. The latter was returned the following year in company with Father Giorda, and with instructions to establish a permanent mission which was to be known as St. Peter's. It was built in 1862 on Sun River near Fort Shaw. In 1866 it was closed because of troubles between the Blackfeet and the settlers. It was not reopened until 1874.

Like their fellow laborers with the Flatheads, the Blackfeet missionaries followed their Indians from camp to camp. When the reservation was made smaller and the Indians were moved to the Northern part, a branch mission was built near the Agency, sixty miles from St. Peter's.

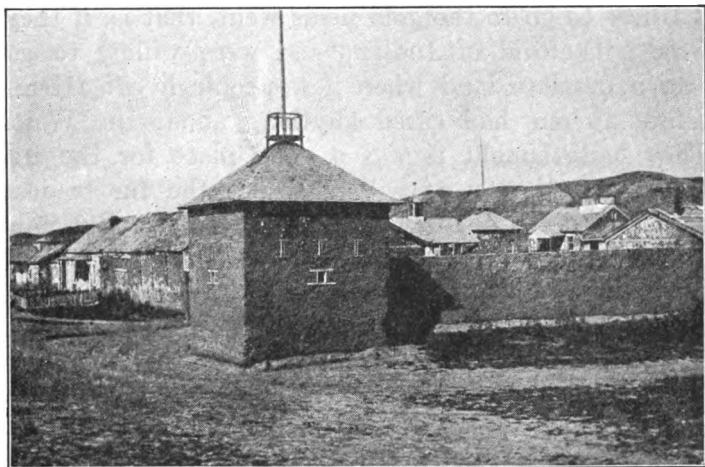
## 7. CROW MISSIONS

**Crows.** — Although the Crows had expressed to Father DeSmet their desire to have missionaries in their villages, it was forty years before this request was granted. The first mission was built for them in 1887. These Indians to-day show the lack of civilizing influences. They followed the ways of

their ancestors long after our other Montana tribes had adopted the white man's ways.

### 8. FATHER DESMET'S JOURNALS

No more interesting journals are written than those of Father DeSmet. He not only gives interesting little happenings at the Missions and among the Indians he visited, but he tells about the fur traders, the ways of travel in those days, and described the country and the scenery. To the student of Montana history it is a most interesting and valuable work.



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OLD FORT BENTON

## PART VI

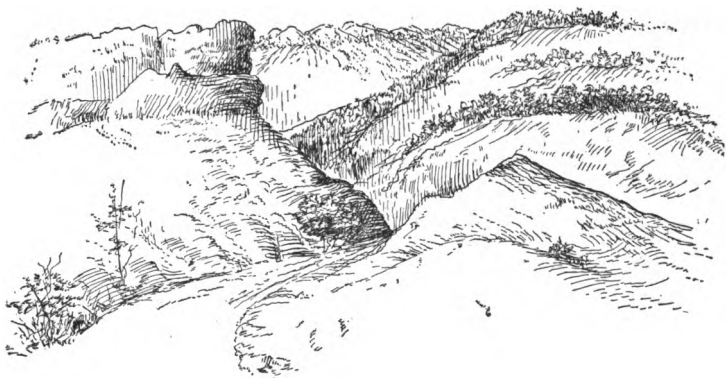
### THE FIRST SETTLERS

#### 1. WESTERN EMIGRATION

**Gold in California.** — The year 1849 was the great turning-point in Western History. In that year gold was discovered in great quantities in California. Such an excitement as there was! Everybody who was free to go to the gold fields went, that is, if they were not afraid of Indians and were willing to go into a desolate land where few people lived. Heretofore no one had cared anything about the West. They had thought it was a good place for the Indians, and they were willing to let the fur traders have the whole country if they wanted it. But now it was different! Gold was scarce. No one ever had enough, and here it was to be had in California, and all one had to do was to go out and shake it out of the sand! Many men took their families along, and there was a stream of people travelling Westward from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean.

**The trail of the emigrant.** — They did not take the Missouri River route, because that was too far north. They went instead over a road which had been found by explorers and fur traders to be much easier; up the Platte and across to the Mormon country in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, then

across Nevada to the Sierras and down to the coast. This road was called the Great Salt Lake Trail. Father DeSmet said it was "as smooth as a barn floor, swept by the winds. Not a blade of grass could shoot up on it on account of the continual passing." The Indians thought that every one must have left the East with such a stream of people com-



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#### THE GREAT SALT LAKE TRAIL

ing from the rising sun. They called the road "The Great Medicine Road of the Whites."

**Prospectors.** — At first all the emigrants were bound for California, but many stopped before they reached there, sometimes because their oxen and other beasts of burden gave out and sometimes because they came to a country which they thought would make a good home. There were many men, who had no families with them, who liked the solitudes best. Some of these turned out of the beaten way, thinking to find an Eldorado of their own.



These last men called themselves prospectors, and in time they came to be as important a class as the fur traders themselves. They prospected all through the Rocky Mountains, in Colorado, in Utah, and in Idaho, and some went even as far north as Montana.

## 2. GOLD IN MONTANA

**Earliest Montana prospectors.** — Thus in the years from 1850 to 1860 a gradual change took place in the country where the fur trader and the Indian had before held undisputed sway. Occasionally the trappers would come upon the cabin of a prospector, and now and then a miner would come to the posts to get a stock of provisions.

**Silverthorne.** — One of these, known as Silverthorne, came one day in 1856 to Fort Benton. He had been successful in his search for gold and he had a quantity of gold dust which he wanted to exchange. The traders looked at it rather dubiously, remembering that "all is not gold that glitters." They did not quite dare take the gold at the Company's risk, but Major Culbertson at length took it as a private venture, giving the man one thousand dollars for it. Afterward he received \$1,526 for it at St. Louis. This was one of the earliest exchanges of gold dust in Montana.

**Nels Kies.** — Sometime afterward a man by the name of Nels Kies caused quite a little excitement among the men at the fort by telling them about his gold mines that he had discovered in the upper country. They were planning to go with him to find the location, but unfortunately the man was killed

by the Indians before the place was made known and it never was found.

In 1852 a half-breed by the name of François Finlay, commonly known as Benetsee, found gold on Gold Creek, a branch of the Hell Gate River, but not in paying quantities. This is the first exact location given for finding gold.

**Arrival of Governor Stevens.**—While this prospecting was going on Isaac I. Stevens was appointed Governor of the new territory of Washington. The country which he was to care for was a part of the Oregon territory which had been for many years disputed ground between the United States and England. In 1846 the dispute had been settled and the 49th parallel had been agreed upon as a national boundary line between the two nations. Washington Territory extended from the coast as far east as the main range of the Rockies, thus taking in the mountainous district of what is now Western Montana. Governor Stevens at once started out for his new field, going up the Missouri River to Fort Benton. During his passage through Montana he was engaged in another work for the Government; that was the supervision of the northern division of a survey of the West to find the most practicable route for a railroad across the continent.

After leaving Fort Benton he ascended the mountains toward the summit of Cadotte's Pass, which is not far from Helena, and there on the 24th of September, 1853, he issued a proclamation "declaring the civil territorial government extended and inaugurated over the new Territory

of Washington." He then proceeded on to the coast.

**Council of 1855.** — He returned to Fort Benton in 1855, and held the council with the Indians which we told of in the chapter on the Indians. There is no doubt that the agreement, made at that time with the Montana tribes, had much to do with the security that the Montana settlers enjoyed in later years.

**James and Granville Stuart.** — In 1857, two California prospectors started from California on a trip to the States. When on Malad Creek, which is near the old town of Corinne, Utah, Granville Stuart was taken ill with mountain fever and was unable to travel. The party was in a bad predicament, for the Mormons were in a state of revolt and were extremely hostile to the Gentiles (the name the Mormons gave to all who were not Mormons). The Mormons, because of their unwillingness to respect the laws of the United States, had been driven from their original settlements in Missouri and had made a home for themselves in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. As emigration moved westward and settlers came about them, once more they found themselves in trouble, and in order to quell their disturbances a company of soldiers was sent out under General Johnston to bring them to subjection. In order to defend his people, Brigham Young, the Mormon leader, declared the colony under martial law. Local troops were organized and an edict was declared that no supplies should be granted to any Gentile, nor should they be allowed thoroughfare through the Mormon country.

The Stuarts and the men who were accompanying them were delayed here just as the Mormon troops were organizing, and they found themselves greatly puzzled as to the course to pursue. At length it was deemed advisable for most of the party to continue on before the barricade was raised. This they did, leaving Reese Anderson with the Stuart brothers, to come on afterward as soon as the sick man recovered. But by the time this was accomplished matters had progressed until the travelers did not dare to go on. Just about this time a man by the name of Jacob Meeks happened along. He told the men of his intention of wintering on the Beaverhead, some 500 miles to the north, and asked them to go along with him, which they did.

All through the winter, 1857-8, they stayed in the vicinity of the present Dillon, and were surprised at the mildness of the climate. They had no houses. They made for themselves teepees of buffalo robes, such as the Indians used. They found these remarkably warm. With furs on the ground and with the small fire in the center of the teepee, they kept as comfortable as though they were in a cabin. These teepees allowed for a four-foot space in the center for the fire, with the outside ring wide enough for the men to lie with their feet within about eighteen inches of the fire and their heads toward the outside of the teepee.

**Provisions scarce.** — They had procured a limited amount of supplies from the Mormon post on Malad Creek, before their departure for the Beaverhead, but these had been given them in great secrecy, for

as has before been stated, no provisions were to be sold to Gentiles at any of these posts, as the Mormons were afraid of thus harboring spies from Jackson's army. Early in the spring their provisions grew low and they planned to go to Fort Bridger, intending to stay there until they could move on to the East. But, although there was no snow on the Beaverhead and had been very little all winter, they found it impossible to drive their horses through the Pass because of the deep snow there. They turned back to wait a more propitious time.

**News of a gold discovery.**— During their wait, there came a man from the Deer Lodge Valley, a Captain Grant, father of John Grant, who was the first rancher in Deer Lodge Valley. He told the men of Benetsee's discovery of gold about five years before near the Deer Lodge Valley on Gold Creek. The Stuarts and Anderson decided to put in their waiting time by prospecting around in that vicinity. They had been living on meat alone with no salt, bread or other food—"meat straight," as it was called in those days. On their way over into the Deer Lodge Valley they saw some mountain sheep, which they shot and found them much more palatable than the lean game which they had been living upon.

**On Flint Creek.**— On Flint Creek, not far from the present Drummond, they prospected under great difficulties, for their tools were very primitive: a broken shovel and an old pick which they found, and their bread pan (not needing it for bread any more since the flour was all gone). Here they prospected, but even the possibility of ten cents to the pan had

not the same charm to them when they had no way to spend money. As soon as their supply of meat was exhausted they started again to Fort Bridger, knowing that if they could not reach there they would have to begin killing their horses for food. In order to reach the Fort they had to cross four streams; the Big Hole, the Beaverhead, the Snake Rivers, and Camas Creek. These were all flooding their banks (it being the spring of the year) with rushing, tumultuous waters. Every time they attempted one of these streams, they hardly expected to reach the other side, especially the Snake, which was a full quarter of a mile wide. They arrived safely at the Fort after having just consumed their last piece of dried meat. There they stayed until late in the summer, having decided to go back and work the claim on Flint Creek, the prospect of a gold discovery being too good to desert.

**Back to Deer Lodge Valley.** — Well provisioned and outfitted for the winter they went back over the same trail, easily fording all the streams which had before been so perilous. Their prospects turned out well. As soon as they saw how good the country was, the Stuarts wrote to their brother, who was prospecting in Colorado, and he and a large party of his friends came up into the Deer Lodge Valley.

### 3. SETTLERS IN MONTANA

**Tom Stuart and his party.** — The coming of Tom Stuart and his party of friends was the real beginning of the settlement of Montana and the great turning point in the history of the State (1859).

**Other emigrants.** — People in the east were hearing of some rich claims having been found in the Salmon River Country, and many people turned to that part of the west to seek their fortunes. Two parties of emigrants who were bound for the Salmon River heard about the discoveries of James and Granville Stuart, and finding the way to their intended destination longer than they had expected and winter about to set in, they decided to go up where the Stuarts were and prospect there instead.

**Bannack.** — About the time that these last emigrants arrived in the Deer Lodge Valley rich claims were discovered on one of the Creeks of the Beaverhead, the Grasshopper, by a man named John White. This was in July of 1862. As soon as the find was made known all the prospectors went over there, and formed a settlement, which they named Bannack, after the tribe of Indians, who lived in that valley.

**Life in Bannack.** — The fame of Bannack reached the Salmon River Country in the fall of 1862 and many people went from there over to the new settlement. Among them went a lot of rough people, gamblers and saloon-men and keepers of rough dance-halls. Soon Bannack was like all the other early western settlements, a rough town with more saloons and gambling houses than there were stores and homes.

The people of Bannack were shut off from the rest of the world for months at a time. It was while the Civil War was in progress, and how much they all would like to have known what was going on at the front! N. P. Langford says in his "Vigilante

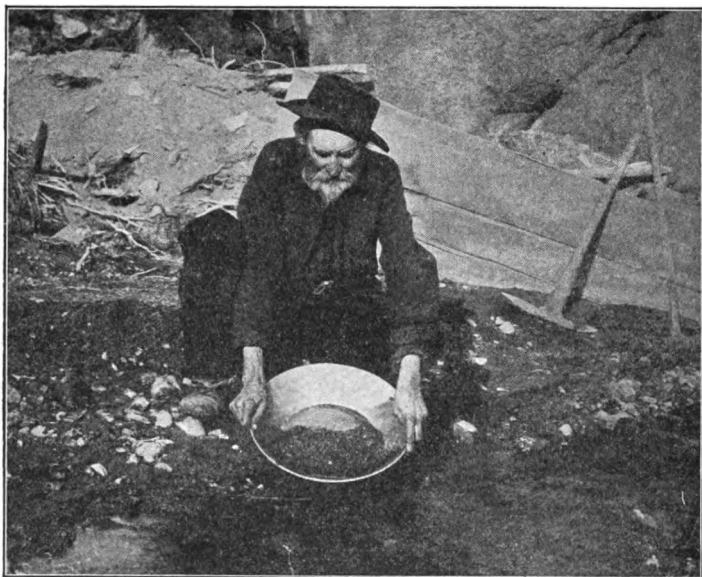
Days and Ways": "All the stirring battles of the season of 1862, — Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Second Bull Run, — all the exciting debates of Congress and the more exciting combats at sea, first became known to us on the arrival of the first newspapers and letters, in the spring of 1863."

For nearly a year Bannack was the most important gold placer east of the Rockies, and then — Alder Gulch was discovered!

Alder Gulch. — Many had not been successful in finding rich ground and the unsuccessful were out prospecting for better things. A party of six who had come over from Idaho set out on an expedition into the Big Horn Country. They were Barney Hughes, Tom Cover, Henry Rodgers, Bill Fairweather, Henry Edgar, and Bill Sweeney. There had been another party under the leadership of James and Granville Stuart which had started out two days before, expecting to explore the Yellowstone Valley and find out its possibilities. This party the men from Idaho hoped to overtake, but they had gained too much headway, and very soon after reaching the Crow country the six men came upon a camp of Indians who showed such unfriendly feeling that they were obliged to turn back. Disheartened, they started to return to Bannack, and toward evening they camped upon a little stream then known as Alder Creek. Two of the men were delegated to get supper, while the others, to pass the time, sat down by the creek to pan out a little of the dirt. Soon there was a shout of joy from Bill Fairweather. He had found gold! All of the six men went to pan-



ning out gold and supper was forgotten. They sank a few feet and they were surprised at the richness of the sand. One of the pans had brought \$5.10! At last they had found their Eldorado! It later proved to be the richest gold placer ever before discovered.



AN OLD PROSPECTOR PANNING OUT GOLD

It was the bed of an ancient river, and several million dollars' worth of gold was taken from it. At the present day the gulch lies deserted looking as though it had been swept by a powerful cloudburst.

**Bannack hears the news.**— In order to work the claims they had to go to Bannack to procure a stock of supplies. They decided to tell a few of their friends, so that they too could share in the good for-

tune. Such wonderful news could not be kept a secret. It spread like wildfire and when the six men were ready to return to their prospect the whole town was prepared to follow them. It was a strange procession: "Every horse that could go was out — oxen that would carry a pack were cinched and packed . . . and miners afoot, with blankets on their backs, and coffee pots, frying-pans, picks, shovels hanging to them, brought up the rear of the stampede." (Quotation from a newspaper clipping in the possession of the Historical Library in Helena.) Every one was in the best of spirits and as they moved along, the slogan was "five dollars to the pan and shallow diggings."

**Virginia City.** — In a few days many more people came and although there were no houses, there was the beginning of a good-sized town. People were living in tents, dug-outs and brush-huts until lumber and logs could be brought to build houses. The settlement was named Varina, after the wife of Jefferson Davis. In making out some official papers in which it was necessary to write the name of the town, Dr. Bissell, who was drawing up the papers, disapproved of the name (he being a Union man) and wrote the name Virginia and it was allowed so to stand.

**Two towns in Montana.** — Bannack was by no means deserted; there were people enough for two towns. The richness of its placers made Virginia City the larger settlement. Soon people in the East heard of the marvelous discoveries and then new people began coming to the two towns every day.

**How the prospectors came.**—The early prospectors came by mules and ox-teams overland, and suffered many hardships, for there were few places to buy supplies if the original stock ran low. The mules and oxen would become jaded if the journey was too long, or taken without sufficient resting times. In every way it was a long weary trip. In the rush to get to the gold fields, the people in the east were looking for a quicker and safer way of getting to the mountains than by ox-teams. About the time of the discovery of gold the American Fur Company had found that it was possible to take their steamboats up as far as Fort Benton. Before 1859 it had not been thought possible to go beyond Fort Union with these larger boats. There were two boats which made the voyage that year together. They brought only supplies for the fur trade. In 1864 there were four steamers which reached there, and in 1865 eight. These brought many of the pioneers and their families, with their supplies. In 1866 thirty-six came, and in 1867, thirty-nine. The number increased every year. This made Fort Benton a town instead of a fur-trading post.

The trip from St. Louis to Fort Benton was no short way, taking from two to three months, according to the obstacles to be met. Occasionally an accident would happen, or the boat go aground; then the passengers had to wait patiently for another boat to come and take them on, and perhaps in the meantime they had to hunt game to keep themselves from going hungry. The pilot house on the boat was a favorite resort for the passengers, for during the quiet

stretches of river the pilot would become storyteller and beguile the weary hours away. The voyages were not always quiet, — sometimes the travelers were in great danger from Indians. The Sioux, the same tribe that made the emigrant trail farther south so dangerous, were on the watch for river emigrants. Many times the boats passed unmolested, finding traces of hostilities to those ahead and hearing afterward of unfortunates who were just behind.

#### 4. ROAD AGENTS AND VIGILANTES

**Road agents.** — Those people who came up the river in the summer of 1863, expecting to find safety after arriving at the settlements, were sadly mistaken for they found on arriving at the camps that the people were in a state of panic over a condition of affairs which before they had never thought of. The stage coaches had been several times held up and robbed! In those days the currency throughout the community was gold dust. Every business place had its gold weighing scales. The dust was sent east to the mint, usually by stage coach, either by way of Fort Benton or Corinne, Utah. When a large amount of treasure, as it was called, was to be sent out, the townspeople usually knew of it, and so it was not surprising that any desperate character would also hear of it. Soon after the first robbery a man was murdered and all his money taken.

**Who were the guilty ones?** — Who could have done it? Before this time there had been no thought of dishonesty, although other frontier towns had been troubled in that way. True, there were the rough

men of the town who spent all their time in the saloons and dance-halls and occasionally they would kill each other in a fight. But this was a different



THE OLD STAGE COACH  
Fort Benton to the settlements

matter, for the people who led quiet lives were the victims. No one could tell who the guilty ones were for there were no witnesses in the one case and in the other the robbers were heavily masked.

**Frequent occurrences.**— Soon it happened again and again until the desperate deeds became a frequent occurrence. Never was a treasure known to be leaving town that the stage coach was not held up and many times passengers murdered. The citizens whispered together. No one dared speak his thoughts or speculations about the guilty ones aloud, for any such foolhardy one would be murdered the next time he ventured away from the settlement. They knew that they were at the mercy of a band of road agents.

**Road agents in Bannack.**— Affairs were as bad in Bannack as they were in Virginia. In fact, the condition there was fearful. The road agents in Bannack were known to be an organized band but they did their work so secretly that no one could tell who the criminals were. The people knew not whom to trust, no laws could be enforced. All fortunate miners, merchants and gamblers were marked as victims for future crimes. The roughs became very bold, sometimes committing crimes in public and asking for credit with the aid of a cocked revolver, and the life of any one was threatened who dared ask for payment. "People walked the streets in fear."

**A miners' court.**— In a few cases, where the guilty ones were discovered, they were tried by a miners' court, which was the method they used for keeping the rough element in order, before the territorial laws were enforced. In these trials, at the conclusion of the evidence, the guilt or innocence of the prisoner would be decided by a vote of all the

miners present. In such a court a guilty man seldom escaped punishment. A trial by jury was always preferred by the rough element, as it gave the friends of the prisoner an opportunity to avenge the death of their comrade, in case he was found guilty. At this time any juryman who dared decide against the prisoner was threatened with his life. During one trial, the roughs became so angry that they determined to shoot every man who had taken part in the trial. They succeeded so well in their intention "that within five months after the trial not more than seven of the twenty-seven who participated in it as judge, prosecutor, sheriff, witnesses and jurors, were left alive in the Territory. Eight or nine are known to have been killed by some of the band, and others fled to avoid a like fate."

**A new sheriff.**—As the fear of the desperadoes increased, many of the citizens prepared to leave town. They all thought the roughs outnumbered the honest men, and felt that resistance would be useless. One of the men who left in fear of the road agents was the sheriff, Crawford. An election was held to fill his office, and Henry Plummer was elected to the position. He was thought to be a good man and he seemed to have confidence that he would be able to bring the guilty ones to justice. Although he was respected by the good citizens and was often in their homes, still he had several friends among the roughs. These, he told his electors, he thought would be able to help him in the search for criminals, and it was arranged that they should act as deputies in case a posse should be needed at any time.

**Henry Plummer.**— Now Henry Plummer was in reality the leader of the band of outlaws. As sheriff all the positions under him were held by members of this band, and as these were the positions that would be most dangerous to them if held by others, their safety was assured and crime was increased to an alarming extent.

**A vigilante committee.**— During this time of plunder and violence the best citizens were constantly but quietly pondering the question of how to bring to the community law and order more speedily. They dared not call a meeting of the citizens, for some of the outlaws would be sure to be there. While things were in this state, a man named William H. Bell died of mountain fever. He requested that he should have a Masonic burial. His friends feared that there were not enough Masons in the camp to perform the ceremony, but when the men gathered at the appointed place, there were so many that it was necessary to move to a larger room. This meeting was so satisfactory that a lodge was formed, and at a secret session was planned the formation of a vigilante committee which was to clear the territory of the noted band of robbers and murderers. Plummer suspected the motives of the Masons and made several attempts to join the order, but admittance was refused him.

**Plummer's claim.**— About this time a report went about that the sheriff and some of his deputies had found a silver ledge out in the hills and some of Plummer's friends decided to watch him, so that they too perhaps could gain a good claim. Colonel



Wilbur F. Sanders heard it and went to him, saying: "Plummer, I hear you have a good thing out here in the hills. Now I would like to get in on it. Let me go with you when you go." This was no presumption on Colonel Sanders's part, as he was a friend to Plummer; the latter had often been entertained at his home and it is said that a more gentlemanly and agreeable man than Plummer could not be found in the country. But Plummer denied that the rumor had any foundation. As he was even then making preparations to go out of town, Sanders was suspicious that he was going to the claim. The truth of the matter was that Plummer and his men were preparing to make a raid upon the stage coach, which was supposed to have upon it a large amount of treasure which was being shipped by N. P. Langford and some other men. The road agents were doomed to be disappointed this time, for the fortunate possessors of this large amount of money had had it sent by freight a day or two before, while giving out that it was to go by stage coach.

**Sanders follows.** — Sanders replied to Plummer's denial: "Now, Plummer, there is no need for you to deny it, for it must be so. Now if you won't tell me truly I am going to follow you." Plummer remonstrated with him and said that he had never heard of such a thing, but if it turned out that any of the others had, he would divide his share with Sanders afterwards or give him part of the claim. Colonel Sanders, however, thinking it over, decided that that would hardly be fair to the others, and soon after Plummer had started Sanders followed.

Plummer had said that they were going to Rattlesnake Ranch for the night, so it was there that Colonel Sanders headed his horse. It was not hard to find the track of the men, for the snow was on the ground, but when he reached the top of the hill he was nonplused to find that they had turned in the opposite direction from the ranch.

**Rattlesnake Ranch.**—As night was coming on, Colonel Sanders decided to go to the ranch, at any rate, and perhaps he could find out their whereabouts so that he could follow them in the morning. He was met at the door by the landlord and ushered into a good-sized room with a bar at one side and all around the room on the floor were bed ticks filled full with straw. He was given one of these for the night and when he found that the landlord could give him no clue to Plummer's whereabouts, he spread his blanket on the tick and went to bed. Along in the night a knock was heard at the door; the landlord took down his gun from the wall, went to the door and cautiously opening it admitted a man whom Colonel Sanders at once recognized as one of Plummer's band. He raised up and said to the man: "Hello! Where is Plummer?" The man, who was intoxicated, started to curse Colonel Sanders, and drawing out a gun, leveled it straight at him. Sanders dodged, and gaining possession of his own gun, prepared to defend himself. The man putting away his pistol, bared his chest and said: "Well, shoot me." Sanders answered: "I do not want to shoot you, but if there is to be any shooting, I am going to do my share of it." Here the landlord interfered and

sought to quiet the drunken man, who suddenly became very friendly and invited Sanders to have a drink. All became quiet; the drunken man, too, found a tick for his blankets, and soon both were asleep. Through the night the whole band came in, one by one, and went to bed.

**Henry Tilden makes a discovery.** — In the meantime other things had been happening. Henry Tilden, a young man in the employment of Governor Edgerton, had been sent out to a neighboring field to hunt up some horses. While out, he was held up by a party of men whom he, of course, knew must be the road agents. They all wore black masks and as they were going through the young man's pockets, a slight breeze blew up the mask of one of the men and his features were exposed to Tilden. What was his surprise to recognize in them those of Henry Plummer! He was allowed to go on his way with a scolding for not having any money about him. When he told his story on his return to town, he said: "Governor Edgerton, I saw Henry Plummer in that band." The Governor exclaimed: "Nonsense! You are mistaken! Of course it was not Plummer." Tilden calmly answered: "If it is possible for one man to know another by his features, then it was Henry Plummer. I know that I am not mistaken!" Alarm was then immediately felt for the safety of Colonel Sanders. A messenger was sent to the Rattlesnake Ranch, and in order to get him away without arousing the suspicions of Plummer's men, who were known to be there, word was given to Sanders that his wife was very ill and that he must

come home at once. Safely home, he was told the alarming truth, and from that time no effort was spared to collect evidence of the guilt of these men and bring them to justice.

**Waiting for evidence.**— Although plans had been made for a Vigilante Committee, nothing definite had as yet been arranged, for they had not been real sure of the number and identity of the roughs, and it was foolhardy to proceed before they had this exact information, because there was danger of their all being killed, eventually, by some who had escaped punishment. The murder of Nicholas Thibault, a young man from Virginia City, brought to light the full evidence concerning the whole band.

**Nicholas Thibault.**— Thibault had been given a sum of money to take to a neighboring ranch to buy mules. On the way, he was overtaken, robbed and murdered. As the days went by and he did not return, his employers concluded that he had left the country with their money. They found the true story after a few days. A man was out hunting grouse when one fell in a clump of sagebrush. When he went to pick it up, he found it lying on the breast of a dead man. There was a bullet in the unfortunate man's head, and his body showed signs of having been dragged. The hunter went to a teepee near the spot, occupied by Long John, one of Plummer's men, and asked assistance to carry the body to Nevada City, in the gulch near Virginia City, for identification. Long John was so unwilling to have anything to do with it that the man became suspicious that he knew something of the murder. The hunter then, unaided, lifted the body into his wagon, drove to Nevada City, and reported the matter.

**Nevada citizens aroused.**—The citizens of the little town of Nevada were so wrought up over this cruel murder that a number of them determined to go in pursuit of the murderers. They went on horseback down the valley to the teepee of Long John and took him to the scene of the murder, leaving a force to guard the men who had been with him. When he found that the men were bent on justice, Long John confessed his knowledge of the murder, telling that it had been done by George Ives, a man known to the men as a thoroughly bad man. He was one of those who was at that time being guarded in Long John's teepee, and it took but a short time to return and put him under arrest. They took Ives, Long John, and one other, to Nevada City. Ives nearly escaped on the way, pretending to run a race with the men. His horse was fleet but tired from a hard trip, while the horses of the men were fresh, or otherwise he would have slipped out of their hands. After this episode, a strict watch was kept on the prisoners, even after they were in jail and chained.

**Trial of the murderers.**—The men were given a fair trial to prove their innocence, if merited. Long John turned State's Evidence, and thereby gained his own freedom. He told all about the road agents, who they were, and who the leaders were. Ives was proven guilty, and the third man, for lack of evidence, was allowed to go, but was banished from the Territory.

**The first hanging.**—The murderer was promptly hanged, much to the dismay of his friends, who had supposed that the people were afraid to expose themselves to such danger, and, indeed, such would have

been the case, but for the bravery of Colonel Sanders, who was the prosecuting attorney, and who took the lead in carrying out the prisoner's sentence.

**Vigilantes organized.**—The Vigilante Committee of Virginia and Nevada was formed immediately after the hanging of Ives, and a number of the men went in pursuit of three or four of the road agents who were trying to escape. They succeeded in capturing two, and they hanged them near Lorrain's ranch. One of these men, Erastus Yaeger, commonly known as "Red," confessed his share in the crimes and implicated many others, so that, with the information from Long John, the evidence was complete.

**Plummer arrested.**—The Virginia and Nevada people sent word to the citizens of Bannack urging them to form a similar committee. Plummer was at the time in Bannack, and when he suspected the state of affairs he made arrangements to quietly leave town, but they were too quick for him. They went at once to his cabin and ordered him under arrest. He was washing himself, and when informed that he was wanted, manifested great unconcern, and proceeded quietly with his washing. "I will be with you in a moment, ready to go wherever you wish," he said to the leader of the men. Tossing down the towel and smoothing his shirt sleeves, he advanced toward a chair on which his coat was lying, carelessly remarking that he would be ready as soon as he could put on his coat. One of the men, discovering the muzzle of his pistol protruding beneath the coat, stepped quickly forward, saying as he did so, "I will hand you your coat." At the same moment, he se-

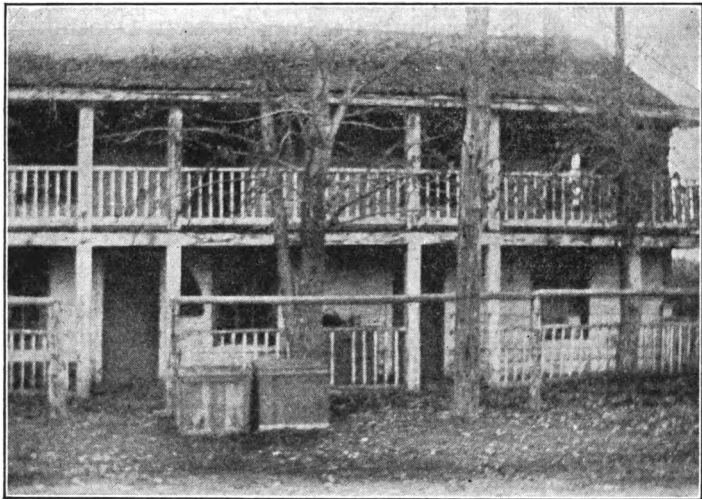
cured the pistol, which act was observed by Plummer, who turned deathly pale, but still maintained sufficient composure to converse in his usual calm, measured tone. Langford says: "The fortunate discovery of the pistol defeated the desperate measures which a desperate man would have employed to save his life. He was so expert with the pistol that he would doubtless have slain some if not all of his captors."

**Plummer hung.**—Two of the roughs, Buck Stinson and Ned Ray, were arrested just before Plummer and the three prisoners were marched to the gallows, Plummer begging hard for his life. They found it no easy matter to hang him. "Stinson and Ray were common villains; but Plummer, steeped as he was in infamy, was a man of intellect, polished, genial, affable. There was something terrible in the idea of hanging such a man." His own family had never suspected that his life was that of a criminal; even his wife had no knowledge of it.

**Five hung.**—After the execution of Plummer at Bannack, the rough element at Virginia City made preparations to leave the country, but the vigilantes were too strong for them. The people of Virginia were surprised, one day, to find their town surrounded by a strong guard of vigilantes. One of the roughs escaped the guards by crawling through a drain. Five who remained were arrested and hung without delay.

**In pursuit of the others.**—A party of over twenty men started toward the Bitter Root Valley, as it was supposed that the robbers would go that way into Idaho. At the Big Hole, they captured one man and hung him at once. Two men were arrested at Deer

Lodge; one was hanged and the other liberated for lack of evidence. He lost no time in leaving the country. At Hell Gate, now a deserted town, situated near Missoula, three men were arrested, and three more in the Bitter Root, and all were summarily hanged.



"ROBBER'S ROOST," A ROAD AGENTS' RESORT

**The last of the road agents.** — By this time, only one man remained unpunished, and as he was heard to be in Gallatin Valley the vigilantes returned to Virginia City and a party from there was sent in pursuit of him. He was found in a cabin about twenty miles from the Gallatin. "The death of Hunter marked the bloody close of the reign of Plummer's band. He was the last of that terrible organization to fall a victim to vigilante justice." Those hanged in Virginia were buried in the cemetery there, where their graves

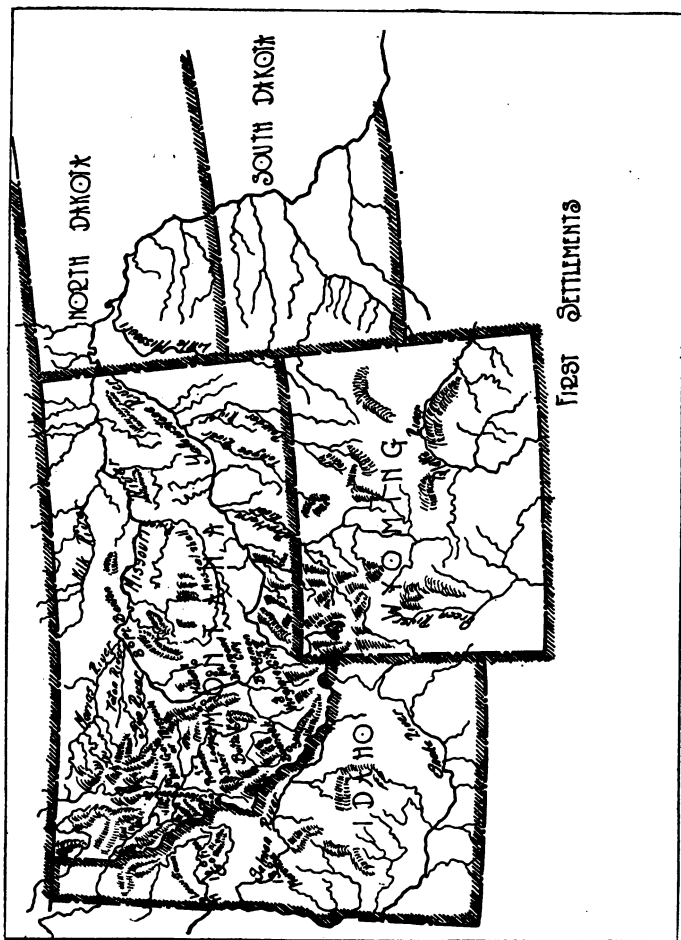


are still to be found. They were buried in a semi-circle, with a small granite boulder at the head of each otherwise unmarked grave.

### 5. MONTANA MADE A TERRITORY

**Civil officers.**—It must be understood that all the activities of the vigilantes occurred from December, 1863, to February, 1864, before there were any territorial laws. Montana was not made a separate territory until May, 1864, and it was autumn before any of the executive and judicial officers were appointed. The vigilantes had continued their watchfulness over the safety of the people, but there had been very little crime to punish. Many of the citizens were so well satisfied with the vigilante code that they reluctantly welcomed the civil officers, declaring they needed no better law for their protection than they already had. But they readily conformed to the laws, and the vigilantes' rule gradually disappeared.

**New interests.**—When the settlers felt safe from crime they began to take an interest in other affairs. There were many subjects to be discussed, such as "the creation of the new Territory of Montana, the establishment of Government mails (July 1st, 1864), with its consequent regular stage transportation from Salt Lake City, the installation of Government officers, the election and action of our first Legislative Assembly, the construction of a telegraph line, the permission of the Government to have newspapers transmitted in the mails, the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. These were," in the words of the Honorable W. F. Sanders, "events in which we took



FIRST SETTLEMENTS



a profound interest and which deeply affected the material and social interests of these communities.”

**Montana a territory.** — Montana had been a part of Idaho since March, 1863. In 1864 a bill was introduced into Congress by J. M. Ashley (who was then on the territorial Committee, and was afterward one of the Governors of Montana), which asked for the creation of a territory named Montana. After the boundaries were discussed some one asked him where he had found the name Montana, and he answered that it was a Latin name meaning mountainous. The name was adopted and the bill was passed on the 22nd of May, 1864. Bannack was made the capital of the new territory, the courts organized October 20th, and the first legislature convened December 12th of the same year.

**Governor Edgerton.** — The first governor of the territory was Sidney Edgerton, who had been living in Bannack while it was still in Idaho Territory. He had been the judge of the Idaho courts. The governor was appointed by the President of the United States and the appointment had to be approved by Congress, as also had the other territorial officers. As soon as all these officers arrived at Bannack, the first session of the legislature was held.

**First legislative assembly.** — The first act of this assembly was the forming of laws which applied to the local needs, such as the necessary procedure in filing mining claims, etc.; public schools were considered; it was made unlawful to carry concealed weapons; and the Historical Society of Montana was incorporated.

**Counties made.** — Another important point settled was the dividing of the territory into counties. This had been done before while it was yet Idaho, and very few changes were made. The counties formed by the first legislature were Missoula, Deer Lodge, Beaverhead, Madison, Jefferson, Chouteau, Dawson, Big Horn, and Edgerton. The names of the last two were changed by later legislative assemblies, Big Horn being changed to Custer, and Edgerton to Lewis and Clark. It is an utter impossibility to trace the boundaries of the first counties accurately because those who determined the boundaries knew so little about the country themselves, for no surveys had yet been made. "It is very difficult to trace the boundary lines of a country which are described as commencing at a point where a certain degree of longitude intersects a certain river when the two do not intersect by a hundred miles or so." This was not a matter of much importance at that time because there were not many people in the territory, but when the population became larger, it became necessary for people to know under what county government they were living, that they might know to which county to pay their taxes and for what set of county officers to vote. In 1867 the boundaries were made more exact by having them follow rivers and mountains instead of lines of latitude and longitude.

**Montana Historical Society.** — The founding of the Historical Society was an important act of this first assembly. To this Society was confided the trust "of accumulating information illustrative of the

early history of the region of country embraced in what is now the Territory of Montana." For many years "the trust seemed a barren and thankless one, for . . . so little information could be gleaned." "It sought to gather from this barren field such informa-



A MUD WAGON

tion as books could afford, and to acquire from the adventurers and early pioneers whatever of interest their memories had preserved."

**People settle down to quiet life.** — Peace being established and the territory under its own government the people of Bannack and Virginia City settled down to their former life. Many men who had been successful in their mining or in mercantile pursuits

sent for their families, and Virginia and Bannack became settled towns.

## 6. LATER DISCOVERIES

**Last Chance Gulch.**—When people on the outside began to hear of the wonderful richness of Alder Gulch there was a great stream of emigration into the camp. Virginia could not find claims for all these people and so many started out to find new placers. One party, under the leadership of John Cowan, found the placers at Helena. This they called Last Chance Gulch because they had been prospecting all through the spring with very little success and when they came to this spot, they considered it their "last chance" of finding gold that season. They had started for the Kootenais country but had turned back when they heard that the prospects in that section were not good. Then they tried their luck on the Little Blackfoot, and when that failed they crossed over to the east side of the range and prospected at Last Chance. Their bad luck was over. On July 15, 1864, they found an abundance of gold. As they were making their first clean-up, two other men came to the spot in looking for game. They were home-seekers who had their families with them. They settled immediately and an emigrant train from Minnesota, camping near the place, hearing of the discoveries, stopped to prospect. This was the beginning of Helena, now the capital of the state.

**Helena.**—There was the usual rush of miners and adventurers to the place and a little town grew up. Constance and Jurgens were the first to open a store.

They had been living at Montana City, a stage station on the road from Fort Benton to the mines. It was then quite a settlement, but now nothing is left to mark the place but a Great Northern station. At a public meeting called for the purpose, the new town was named Helena by John Somerville, after his former town in Minnesota. Several wanted the name Tomah, but Helena received the most votes. Water being more convenient in the gulch, the town was built there and the location was not afterward changed. In July of the next year, 1865, a large nugget was found on the claim of Maxwell, Rollins & Company, No. 5. It was entirely free from quartz and was worth \$2,073.

**Confederate Gulch.**—In the winter of 1864-5, a new placer field was discovered about thirty-five miles from Helena. This was at Confederate Gulch (in Meagher County). These placers were much richer than Alder Gulch, although not nearly so extensive. It was a very hard gulch to work because of the great depth of bed-rock, the amount of water, and the immense boulders that had to be encountered in the running of drains. Perhaps this will all be clearer if we give here a description of the manner of working a placer mine as told to some New York people in 1866, by H. L. Hosmer at that time Chief Justice of Montana:

**A placer mine.**—"Gold was not found, even in the rich districts 'lying around loose' as is generally supposed. The ordinary mode of working a gulch is to sink a shaft to what in mining parlance is known as bedrock, which is nothing more than the solid clay



underlying the soil of the gulch. Gold, by its superior weight, finds its way to that bed-rock. If none is found there, the presumption that there is none there is acted upon by the miner, who renews the search elsewhere. Frequently these shafts are sunk to the depth of sixty feet, without success; and often, when the metal is found, drain ditches of miles in extent must be excavated before it can be obtained. The 'pay dirt' is carefully scraped from the bed-rock and thrown into a sluice-box, which is a trough of boards of indefinite length, through which a constant stream of water passes. The water releases the gold from the soil, and it settles upon the cleats fastened to the bottom of the sluice, or is taken up by the quicksilver which has been placed there. Sometimes this sluicing process is carried on for several days without cleaning up, and hundreds of dollars are taken from the boxes at a cleaning. The quicksilver is relieved of its burden in various ways—the most common in Montana mining being to strain it through buck-skin, which leaves the residuum nearly pure."

The fame of Confederate Gulch died out with the working out of its placers and attention was given to other fields.

**Silver Bow Creek.**—About the time that Last Chance was discovered, men were prospecting on Silver Bow Creek, near the present Butte. Silver Bow was the original town, the same prospectors pushing up the creek, trying first Rocker and then Butte, the first gold being found between the old town of Silver Bow and Silver Bow Junction. The

discoverers were Frank Ruff, Bud Parker, Pete McMahon, and three others. The locality was on the Creek, just at its bend about half-way between the two settlements.

**Butte.** — There had been some quartz prospecting done at Butte that spring, but it was not until fall that the first placer claims were found by a man named Snyder. It was in the vicinity of Arizona Street, south of Park, that he did his first work. He built his sluice-boxes down at the Creek, and, as the dirt was rich enough to warrant the labor, hauled it to the Creek for washing. W. L. Farlin sold him the lumber to make the sluice-boxes.

**Ditches.** — Ditches were brought in later, which were convenient to some of the claims. The first of these ditches was dug by some Frenchmen, who sold out to Humphreys, Allison, and others. This ditch came around the hill from Meaderville, near where the Old Silver Bow Mill used to stand. In 1866, John Noyes and David N. Upton brought in a ditch at a cost of \$20,000, but that seemed not such a large sum in those days, and water was a paying investment at that time, the miners being glad to get it at from fifty cents to a dollar an inch for ten hours' use. The gulch was taken up for six or seven miles. It was an easy one to work, being only eight or ten feet to bed-rock; and about five feet of the dirt paid for running through the sluices.

**The Old Butte.** — The surroundings were very attractive in those days. The bunch grass was knee high on the flat, and upon and around Anaconda Hill were tall trees and good pasture land. There was

a stream flowing down through Dublin Gulch and here the first cabins were built, near where is now the crossing of Anaconda Road. Others were built near, but when, a few years later, prospects showed that the camp would probably be a permanent one, the town site was changed, with post office near the corner of Main and Broadway. The placers held out for five years, producing in the neighborhood of eight million dollars; then a dry season disheartened the settlers, those who had not faith in the quartz mines looked out for new fields, and Butte's placer days were over. Indeed the placer days of all the towns around were over practically, and the people began to look about for some more permanent if not so lucrative an industry.

**Pioneers.**—As the West grew and railroads were being built, the hardships of travel were in a way over. Those who came out to the mines partly by rail and finished the journey by stage coach came in comparative comfort. They felt that they were pioneers, too, for they had left their homes and many comforts and had had to do without so much that before had seemed essential. Their lives, truly, were brave and steadfast, but those who had come out before them were the real pioneers. These latter had proved that the undertaking was a feasible one, that the land was suitable for a home, and that a man could make a profitable living for his family. Like the missionaries who came out to the Indians before gold was ever thought of: "they had to learn to live without the necessities of life." But now that was all over, and while they had endured much

privation many of them in those hard days, had gained great wealth, and all of them could enjoy the settled conditions and the fact that their homes were permanent ones, and their territory a land which promised to flow with milk and honey.

#### 7. BOOKS WRITTEN BY PIONEERS

**Thomas J. Dimsdale.** — The first book published in Montana was a history of the struggle of the settlers with the road agents. It was written by Thomas J. Dimsdale and entitled "The Vigilantes of Montana." The title further described it as "Being a correct and impartial narrative of the chase, trial, capture, and execution of Henry Plummer's Road Agent Band, together with the accounts of the lives and crimes of many of the robbers and desperadoes, the whole being interspersed with sketches of life in the mining camps of the far West." This very aptly gives the contents of the book. The times described were indeed days of terror, and his account is full of stirring events and blood-curdling deeds. Mr. Dimsdale was the first school teacher in Virginia and although not a citizen at the time he so graphically described, received his information from N. P. Langford and others, and published it as a series of articles in the "Montana Post," the first Montana newspaper.

**Nathaniel P. Langford.** — Mr. Langford, in 1893, published a much fuller account, under the title of "Vigilante Days and Ways," telling of the sway of the road agents in the mining towns of Idaho, as they one by one moved to the new camps of Montana. (Our account is taken from these two works,

with some additional information from Miss Sarepta Sanders, a sister of Colonel Wilbur F. Sanders.)

**Granville Stuart.** — In 1864 Granville Stuart wrote a short book entitled "Montana as it is," which is a very good description of life as it was in the early days.

**Contributions to the Montana Historical Society.** — In the Publications of the Historical Society we have many interesting sketches written by pioneers, and many more manuscripts remain to be published.

**The "Montana Post."** — The first paper published in Montana was the "Montana Post" in Virginia City. The first issue came out in 1865. Many interesting bits of history are to be found in the old files.

**Journals in preparation.** — Granville Stuart is preparing for publication the journals that he kept during his pioneering days. When this is ready it will be a valuable addition to Montana history.

Wilbur F. Sanders wrote many interesting articles at different times during his Montana career. Unfortunately they, with much other unpublished matter, were not collected for publication before his death.

As many pioneers are yet living opportunity may yet be had for valuable information to be brought to light; and a good picture of those early days may be gained by talking to pioneers about their experiences.

## PART VII

### THE SOLDIERS IN MONTANA

#### 1. EARLY MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

**General Atkinson's expedition.** — For several years after the expedition of Lewis and Clark, the fur traders who had gone into the Upper Missouri Country to trade with the Indians found that the Canadian companies were still coming into the country on trading expeditions, and the Americans thought that the trade should be saved for their own companies. Then, too, there seemed to be a great deal of hostility from the Indians toward the traders. They were afraid that the Canadian companies were influencing the Indians to be unfriendly so that the Americans would stay out of the country.

**Congress authorizes expedition.** — In 1824, Congress authorized the president of the United States to hold councils with the tribes on the Upper Missouri and give to the Indians the assurance that the Americans wanted to be friendly toward them and that they would be glad to have their trade. The president appointed General Atkinson and Major B. O'Fallon commissioners to hold these councils.

In the Mercantile Library, in St. Louis, are files of old newspapers of that year. In one of them,

"The Missouri Advocate," for October 22, 1825, we find the following account of the return of this expedition:

"General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, commissioners, accompanied by Lt. McRee, aide to the General, Capt. B. Riley, and Lt. Rogers, arrived at this place in the Barge Antelope, on the evening of the 20th inst., all in fine health. The expedition left Fort Atkinson on the 16th of May, and after the necessary delay in treating with the intermediate tribes of Indians, arrived at Mandan villages, where the commissioners waited for the arrival of the Crow Indians, who came in on the 3rd August; and on the 4th, having concluded a treaty with the commissioners, the expedition embarked on the 6th for the Yellowstone, and arrived there on the 17th of August. At this point, Gen. Ashley, who had spent the previous winter in the mountains, with a detachment of his party, arrived in two large skin canoes, with one hundred packs of beaver. General Ashley's party remaining at the mouth of the river and Capt. Riley, with two of the largest transports and one hundred and fifty men, being left in command, the commissioners proceeded up the Missouri on the 20th, and reached the mouth of 2000 Mile Creek, one hundred and twenty miles above the Yellowstone, on the 24th, and passing that point eight miles, on the evening of the 25th of August, the expedition commenced its descent of the river, having accomplished everything that was practicable or of consequence, and arrived at the mouth of the Yellowstone, again, on the 26th. Here Gen. Atkinson, to

afford that protection to our fur trade, which he has always manifested the strongest disposition to do, and to relieve Gen. Ashley at once from all further apprehensions, received our enterprising and worthy fellow citizen, his party and rich cargo of furs on board of the transports, and on the 27th continued descending the river. The commissioners, as they were descending, halted at the villages of the Mandans on the 31st; on the 4th of September at the Arricares; at Ft. Kiawa, Great Bend, on the 9th; at the Poncas village on the 12th, and arrived at the Council Bluffs on the 19th of September. Here the commissioners remained until October 7, making treaties with surrounding Indians."

**Result of the expedition.** — The commissioners did not succeed in finding the Blackfeet, as they had hoped to do, but they left the Upper Missouri with the feeling that the fears of the fur traders were rather exaggerated and that the Indians were not inclined to be hostile. They did not deem it necessary, at that time, to build military posts on the Upper Missouri.

**The railroad surveys.** — After gold had been discovered in California the people in the East began to realize that they were a long way from the Pacific Coast. By that time a number of railroads had been built in the East, and the people wondered if it would be at all practicable to build a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. At different times men interested in the West had introduced bills into Congress proposing the building of a road, but nothing definite was done about it until 1853 when Congress appropriated



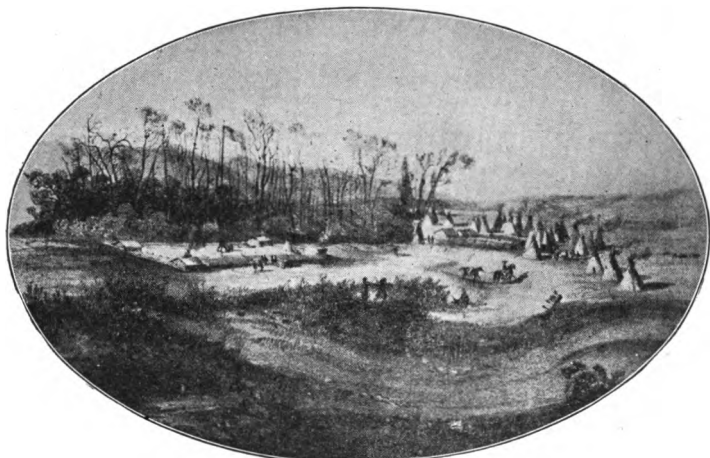
\$150,000 to be used in thoroughly surveying the West, to find the best route to the Pacific.

**Five surveys.**— We must understand that they were not only to find a route, but they were to find the best route, and as the country was so big, stretching from Canada to Mexico, it was decided to divide the expedition into five different sections. Each section was to have a division of the country and was to find out which would be the best route in that particular division. These were divided by the parallels of latitude and were called by the name of the parallel, as for instance, the most northern route was known as the 47th Parallel—the route afterward taken by the Northern Pacific. As this was the only one of the sections which came into Montana, we will only tell of the explorations of that one.

**The northern survey.**— The work of the surveys was under the supervision of the engineering corps of the U. S. Army, and I. I. Stevens, an assistant in the U. S. Coast Survey, was given charge of the Northern route. Washington was made a territory the same year and Stevens was made the first governor of the new territory. Thus he combined the two offices, having charge of the survey while on his way out to his new field. He had under him several lieutenants and scientific men who had charge of the different departments.

**Crossing the mountains.**— The most important part of the survey was the practicability of crossing the mountains; not only the easiest passes were to be found, but those that were the most practicable for winter crossing.

We would naturally suppose that the fur traders, who had been around the headwaters of the Missouri for over twenty years, would have known something about this, but the report tells us that neither traders nor Blackfeet could enlighten them, for "no person was found who had ever crossed the mountains later than the first days of November or earlier



CANTONMENT STEVENS. WINTER QUARTERS IN THE BITTER ROOT VALLEY

than the first days of April." In order to learn all about the situation "winter posts were established at Fort Benton and in the St. Mary's Valley (the Bitter Root) under the direction of James Doty and Lt. Mullan; and Lt. Grover was directed to leave Ft. Benton in January and cross the ranges to the Pacific with a dog train."

From the Flatheads he learned what the Blackfeet could not tell him "that the passes were generally practicable with horses throughout the winter. Victor

said that his people always re-crossed the mountains in December or January, men, women, and children, with their horses laden with meat and buffalo robes. It was only very severe winters that they could not cross in January or February. The Washington Territory Indians went to the hunt in October or November, and returned in February and March." Although he had secured this knowledge, Governor Stevens "kept the whole mountain region under observation and solved the questions of climate and snows. Indeed he had the range crossed at every month in the year by one or other of these parties."

**Taking wagons over the trail.** — After it was found that the mountain crossing was no very serious obstacle, the next question which arose was the possibility of taking wagons over them. This had been accomplished several years before in the passes further south but as yet it had not been done in the survey at this latitude. Lieutenant Mullan was especially interested in this phase of the question. Many were the conversations he held with the Indians and early travelers who came to their camp that winter in the Bitter Root Valley. From them he learned much about the geography of the country, but no one seemed to have any practical ideas to offer about a wagon road, for no one had ever really needed to take wagons over the mountains and they had never considered the idea.

One half-breed, Gabriel Prudhomme, who had been a voyageur and a companion of the earliest missionaries in their journeys to the Flathead country, gave him the most encouragement, in fact he finally

thought of a way they could take. They went to Fort Benton, procured a wagon, and came back easily over the trail, in March. This was considered such an important accomplishment that a special messenger was sent to Governor Stevens, at Olympia, with the news.

The crossing of the Bitter Root Mountains was a more difficult matter. At only three places could



CANTONMENT WRIGHT. LIEUT. MULLAN'S WINTER QUARTERS

they pass even with horses; these were the Clark's Fork, the St. Regis Borgia, and the Lo-Lo trail.

Æneas, an old Iroquois Indian, told him of a trail which he thought could be used for wagons, through a gorgelike pass in the Cœur d'Alene Mountains. (This is now known as Sohons Pass.) From others he learned of the Clark's Fork, and a trip was taken to Fort Colville, in Washington, going by the way of the Clark's Fork and returning by the St. Regis Borgia over the Cœur d'Alene Mountains. The time of year chosen made this a bad time for the Clark's

Fork, for it was at high water and the crossing was difficult. The objection to the other route (which they had not learned at that time) was with deep snows in winter, and naturally at this time it seemed the best route; also, being further south, they supposed it would be more open in winter. Afterward when they found their mistake Lieut. Mullan said: "It is a self evident proposition to those familiar with the winter character of the Rocky Mountains, that it is impossible for a man to express a winter view from a summer standpoint."

**Treaties with the Indians.** — Crossing the mountains was not the only work of the survey. They were given many other things to do. One was to find out how the Indians would treat any settlers who might come in and how they would feel if a railroad were built through their country. Governor Stevens held councils with the tribes on the Missouri and also with those west of the mountains and arranged with them where their reservations would be. First of all they had to promise to be at peace with each other and this they agreed to do at the council on the Judith River in 1855.

**A useful piece of work.** — This railroad survey was a useful piece of work for the railroad builders. Much of the work they did was used afterward in the building of the Northern Pacific road; the further observations of Lieut. Mullan when building his wagon road determined the course of the railroad through Western Montana.

**Lieut. Mullan's expedition for building the wagon road.** — It was some time before Lieut. Mullan was

able to put his ideas into practise. The reason for this was because of the immense amount of money it would take to build such a road as he had dreamed of. In fact it was not accomplished until Governor Stevens was in Congress and pushed the bill for the appropriation through, in the winter of 1857. Thirty thousand dollars was allowed for the building of the road. Lieutenant Mullan took up the work in April, 1858, but it was in December of 1859 before they began actual operations in Montana. They had started the work at Walla Walla, had been delayed by Indian troubles, and had found the building of the road through the mountains slow and hard work. This work had consisted of timber cutting, bridge building, and grading. Both the Cœur D'Alene and the St. Regis Borgia Canyons were densely timbered, and their courses serpentine, so that the streams had to be crossed frequently, or much grading done. The standing timber was not the only difficulty, for the fallen timber which had been years accumulating had to be removed. The forest was a veritable jungle.

Winter quarters at Cantonment Jordon. — By the 4th of December they had arrived at a place which would be a suitable spot for a winter camp. This was in the St. Regis Borgia Valley. They called the camp Cantonment Jordon. They passed a very comfortable winter in a "dense bed of timber that furnished both building material and fuel, had many fine springs, and was securely sheltered from the winds by friendly rims of mountains." They spent the winter in making reports of their work, drawing maps of the coun-

try, measuring the snow at different localities and different times, so that they could help travelers who might be passing through the country at future times.

**A strange freak of climate.** — One strange climatic feature they noticed while working in this valley: this was that along the Bitter Root River (which we now call the Missoula) the temperature was much warmer than in the St. Regis part of the valley: They were only fifteen miles northwest of where the two rivers come together, and flow through the range into the Clark's Fork Valley, but there was such a difference in climate that at their camp the snow was a foot and a half deeper than at the junction. The meteorologic description of this latter place (where now is the town of St. Regis) gives it the same climate as that of St. Joseph, Missouri. The warm wave that passes through this part of the valley goes through the Clark's Fork Valley and Lake Pend d'Oreille. Lieutenant Mullan discovered too late that he had chosen a wrong pass for his road, for had he taken the Clark's Fork Valley, wagons could have crossed with comparative ease all through the winter months, while at the summit of the Sohons Pass, where the road was built, the snow in the winter was sometimes from seven to nine feet deep.

**Road completed to Fort Benton.** — The road was roughly completed through to Fort Benton by the first of August. When the expedition arrived at Fort Benton they found awaiting the opening of the road a detachment of 300 soldiers under Major Blake. They were on their way to Walla Walla.

Lieutenant Mullan and his men accompanied them over the road.

**Improving the road.** — The following summer they made a number of changes in the road, improving it considerably by widening it through the timber, making side cuts along the hills in place of bridges, and building stronger bridges in places where the washouts were most frequent. The winter quarters for that year were at the junction of the Big Blackfoot with the Hell Gate near the present town of Bonner. They called the camp Cantonment Wright, and they spent there a rather uncomfortable time, for the winter was one of the most severe in the history of the West. The work was entirely finished by August, 1862: a road 624 miles long, at a cost of \$230,000.

**Captain Raynolds' expedition.** — In 1859 Congress sent out an expedition under Captain Raynolds of the Engineering Corps of the Army to explore the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, and the mountains in which they rise, and to find the best route from the Yellowstone to Fort Laramie on the Platte River.

Captain Raynolds had eight assistants and they were escorted by a company of thirty soldiers from Fort Randall. The guide of the party was the noted Jim Bridger, the old fur trader.

The party went up the river by boat to Fort Pierre. From there they went by wagon across the country to the Black Hills and then into Montana (which was then still a part of Nebraska). They entered the state near the present town of Graham



in Custer County. They went down the Little Powder River to Mizpah Creek. Here the Captain lost a watch charm, and he named the creek for the motto which was inscribed upon it. At this point they turned west and continued in that direction until they came to a place on the Yellowstone near the present town of Forsyth. At that time the fur-trading post of Fort Sarpy was in operation on the Yellowstone, and they stopped there for the supplies which they had sent up the river from Fort Pierre. As it was now near the end of the summer, the party turned their faces toward Fort Laramie, expecting to spend the winter there.

**The party divides.**—At the mouth of the Big Horn Lieut. Maynadier and a portion of the men left the main party and went up Tulloch's Fork while the others went up the Big Horn as far as the Big Horn Mountains, going around the eastern side of the mountains in a southeast course to the Platte River. Lieut. Maynadier's party followed the same course about thirty to fifty miles to the east. The whole expedition at different places crossed most of the headwaters of the Yellowstone. They were in winter camp on the Platte for seven months.

On their return the next spring they again divided into two parties, Lieut. Maynadier going down the Big Horn River to the Gray Bull River. Here they took a northwestern direction crossing squarely the following streams: Stinking Water, Clarke's Fork of the Yellowstone, Rocky Fork, and Big Rosebud, reaching at last the Yellowstone and continuing up that river to the Blackfoot Pass. It is interesting

to know just how this pass was crossed. It "followed the winding of a small stream and gradually ascended by its crooked course until it was lost in a dark narrow canyon. Then turning abruptly the trail led up a very steep hill through a dense pine forest and in about a half mile the divide was reached. A halt was called on the summit to allow all hands to breathe and to prepare for the descent which bade fair to be worse than the ascent. It was very steep and rocky, and there were many places where the mules had great difficulty in keeping on their feet. At one point near the bottom, the gorge opened and presented a charming view of the broad plain in which the Three Forks of the Missouri unite, and soon after we came to a beautiful mountain stream, which provided an easy road into a fine valley, where we camped on the ground of some deserted Indian lodges. We were now on the waters of the Gallatin Fork of the Missouri."

**At the Three Forks of the Missouri.**—At the Three Forks they met the main party who had separated from them at the mouth of the Wind River (the head of the Big Horn River). These men had had great difficulty in crossing the mountains, on account of deep drifts of melting snow. They took the Union Pass which leads from the headwaters of the Wind River to the Gros Ventres Creek in Idaho. At this point the head stream of the Green River is only five miles distant and the explorers had planned to have tea made from waters that would have flowed into the Pacific, the Gulf of California, and the Gulf of Mexico. But by the time they had

reached the summit they were too weary to care anything about it. "Wet and exhausted as I was, all the romance of my continental tea-party had departed, and though the Valley of Green River was in plain sight I had not the energy to either visit it or send to it."

Captain Raynolds had planned to cross over into the Yellowstone from this spot and see some of the wonders of which Bridger had told them. But Bridger knew it would be impossible on account of the high mountains. When they reached the point where they could see these mountains, "Bridger remarked triumphantly and forcibly: 'I told you you could not get through. A bird can't fly over that without taking a supply of grub along.' I had no reply to offer and mentally conceded the accuracy of the information of the 'old man of the mountains.'"

After reaching the headwaters of the Columbia it was an easy matter to reach the Three Forks of the Missouri, for they crossed by Henry's Lake where the pass is only four miles from, and two hundred feet above, the Lake, and so level that it is difficult to locate the exact point at which the waters divide. Captain Raynolds considered it one of the most remarkable and important features of the topography of the Rocky Mountains. "As we approached its summit I put spurs to my horse and galloped ahead over the boundary line and into Nebraska."

**Homeward bound.** — At the Three Forks the expedition divided again, Lieut. Maynadier going down the Yellowstone Valley, Captain Raynolds going by boat down the Missouri, while a detachment of twenty

men, with all the camp equipment, the guide Bridger, the naturalist, artist, meteorologist, and the topographer, under the command of Lieut. John Mullan, the officer at the head of the military escort, followed the ridge between the Missouri and the Yellowstone to Fort Union.

The three divisions of the expedition met at Fort Union, and returned to their homes by boat, down the Missouri River.

**Captain Fisk's expedition.**— In the summer of 1862, an expedition was sent out from St. Paul under the leadership of Captain James L. Fisk, to open a wagon road from St. Paul to Fort Benton. The appropriation from the Government was not sufficient to properly do the work, but at that time there were many men going out to the gold-fields and some were engaged to do the work, for their transportation. There were also one hundred and twenty-five emigrants who accompanied the expedition.

**The work accomplished.**— All the streams not fordable on the entire route were bridged and many rough places improved.

**Return by the Pacific.**— All the emigrants who accompanied the expedition stayed in Montana, and also some of the soldiers. The remainder of the expedition went over the Mullan Road to Walla Walla and returned by way of the Pacific Ocean and the Isthmus to Washington.

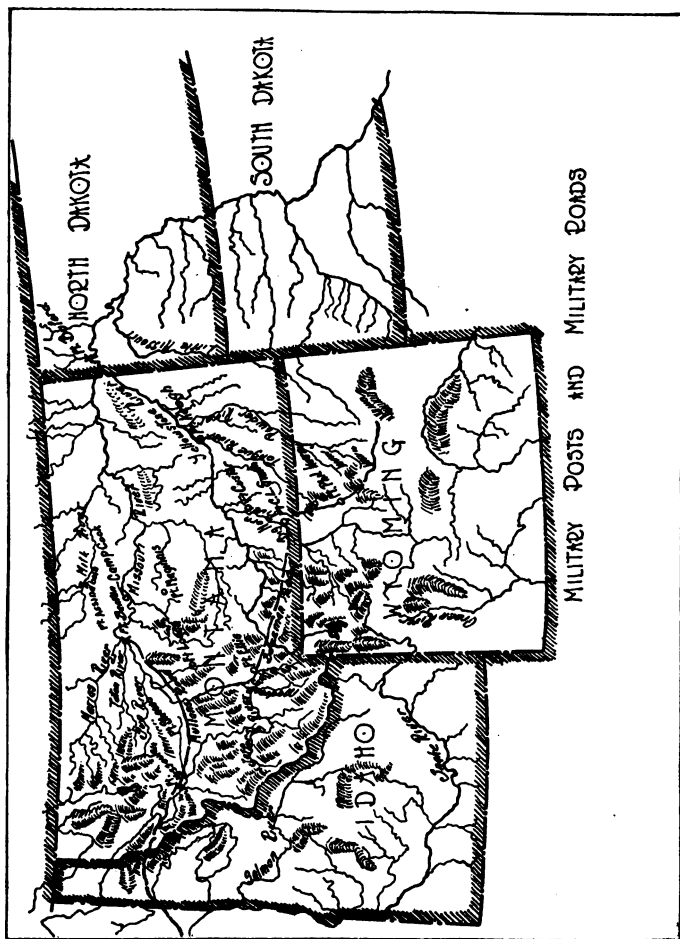
## 2. MILITARY ROADS

**The Mullan Road.**— The Mullan Road, the building of which we have described, was built for the

comfort of travelers into Oregon and Washington. It also was built for the rapid movement of troops over the mountains in case of Indian uprisings. This road, after leaving Fort Benton, crossed the mountains near Helena, over the same pass now taken by the Northern Pacific. It passed Deer Lodge and Hell Gate (the old stage station near the present Missoula). After going through the Missoula Valley the road crossed the Bitter Root Range over into the Cœur d'Alene country in Idaho, and from there down to Walla Wal'a, the head of navigation on the Columbia. This made a connection between the Missouri and the Columbia, so that emigrants could pass in comparative comfort from St. Louis to the Pacific.

**The Bozeman Road.** — After gold was discovered in Montana, a road was built by J. M. Bozeman, which was a short cut from the Platte River to Virginia City. After leaving the Platte, the road crossed the headwaters of the Powder, Tongue, and Rosebud Rivers. After entering Montana, it crossed the Big Horn River and went in a due western direction to Bozeman, several miles south of the Yellowstone River.

**Military protection.** — The Bozeman Road ran through Ab-sa-ra-ka, the land of the Crows. These Indians themselves were friendly to the Road, and made no objections to emigrants using it, or soldiers protecting it, but the Sioux and Cheyennes, who had had many fierce battles with the Crows about the possession of this land, gave the emigrants and the soldiers no peace. The road was finally abandoned by the soldiers, after many lives had been lost.



MILITARY POSTS AND MILITARY ROADS



## 3. THE MONTANA FORTS

**Fort C. F. Smith.** — Fort C. F. Smith was built in 1866 by the 18th U. S. Infantry under the command of Colonel H. B. Carrington. It was one of a string of posts built to protect the Bozeman Road.



THE FIRST ARMY STATION IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

It was occupied a few months only for the Sioux and Cheyennes were so hostile to the headquarters Post (Fort Phil Kearney in Wyoming, 91 miles south of Fort C. F. Smith) that the military occupancy of the whole road had to be abandoned.

**Fort Ellis.** — Troops from this regiment were to be sent to Fort Ellis, at the western end of the Boze-



man Road, but they found that they had not a sufficient force to build and protect three forts, so for the time the occupancy of Fort Ellis was postponed. In August, 1866, Brevet Brigadier General Hazen came to Fort Phil Kearney on a tour of inspection. He went on overland to Fort Benton and other posts on the Upper Missouri, taking with him Lieut. Bradley and twenty-six picked men of the mounted infantry. Lieutenant Bradley from this time was connected with Fort Ellis, his regiment being changed from 18th Infantry to 7th Infantry. It was at Fort Ellis that he gathered the historical matter published in the "Contributions to the Montana Historical Society." Fort Ellis was one of the forts built by Major Eugene M. Baker in 1866. It was three miles from Bozeman and was for many years one of the important military posts of Montana.

**Fort Shaw and Camp Baker.** — Fort Shaw was on the Sun River and was the headquarters for the posts built by Major Eugene M. Baker in 1866. Camp Baker was built by Major Baker on the Smith River just over the range from Diamond City. After the Battle of the Big Hole the name of Camp Baker was changed to Fort Logan in memory of Captain Logan who was killed in that battle. The first commanding officer of these posts was Lieut. Colonel Albert G. Brackett, but he was there but a short time when the command was given to Major Baker.

**Stronger forts.** — After the troubles with the Sioux and Cheyennes from 1866 to 1876 it was thought best to give a different equipment to the posts. During that time the posts were built more

in groups or chains, with one post as headquarters and the others occupied by troops from the same regiments. In the summer of 1876 and within a year or two following four new posts were built in Montana, each one to house a whole regiment. This gave better protection to the forts and still allowed sufficient men to send out detachments for outside work. Fort Keogh at the mouth of the Tongue, and Fort Custer at the mouth of the Little Big Horn were built in July of 1876. In 1878 Fort Maginnis in the Judith Country and Fort Assiniboin on the Milk River, north of the Bear Paw Mountains, were built. Fort Missoula was the post west of the Mountains.

**Fort Buford.** — At the mouth of the Yellowstone, east of Fort Union (the old fur-trading post) was built Fort Buford, but this was just over the line into Dakota. Fort Union had been in Montana.

**Fort Peck and Fort Benton.** — Fort Peck was an Indian trading post and agency, and was not a military post. Fort Benton, too, was an old Indian fur-trading post, and was never occupied by the military forces.

#### 4. BATTLES FOUGHT IN MONTANA

**Baker and the Blackfeet.** — The Montana Indians were as a rule quiet and friendly to the whites. Only once did the soldiers have to quiet a disturbance, and that was soon over. At this time there was a sort of family feud between some Blackfeet and a family of whites. The trouble culminated in the murder of Malcolm Clark, a man who had had

charge of Fort Benton during the fur-trading days, and had later gone to farming in the Prickly Pear Valley. The deed was done by a distant relative of his wife (who was a Blackfoot). This Indian had had some grievance against the settlers and blamed Clark for it. The excitement became intense and the people becoming alarmed, the troops were sent out to punish the band of Indians who had been mixed up in the affair.

A command of four companies of cavalry left Fort Ellis under Major Baker, and on reaching Fort Shaw were joined by two companies of infantry. The trouble was soon settled after a battle on the Marias near the Big Bend in which one chief was killed and several Indians taken prisoners. These last were quickly released when it was discovered that some of them were suffering from smallpox. The Indians soon quieted down and never after gave any trouble.

**Montana's Indian battles.**—The two great Indian battles fought in Montana were not with Indians whose homes were in Montana. In the Battle of the Big Hole the Nez Percés were the enemies. They were simply passing through Montana, fleeing from the soldiers, trying to find a place where they could live as they liked, and not go upon a reservation. In the Battle of the Little Big Horn, when Custer and his men lost their lives, the Indians were Dakota Indians who came into Montana to hunt. They had no right to hunt in that country, even by the laws of the Indians, for the land belonged to the Crows and they had the first right to it.

**The Sioux in Yellowstone.** — For many years the Sioux had hunted in the Yellowstone regardless of the hostility of the Crows, and later, as settlers moved into the Lower Missouri Valley, it was more and more necessary for the Sioux to hunt on the Upper Valleys of the River. When the Cheyennes of the Black Hills of eastern Dakota divided their bands one portion went to the Red River Country and the other portion went to the Valleys of the Powder and Tongue Rivers. The Sioux now found in the Cheyennes an ally against their enemy, the Crows, and the Crows had to suffer both these tribes to choose the best lands for hunting and in some cases for homes.

**The Bozeman Road in Ab-sa-ra-ka.** — When the Bozeman Road was built through the Big Horn Country, it ran through Ab-sa-ra-ka, the old home of the Crows. The Crows did not resent the passing through of the white men, and even welcomed the soldiers who were sent out to guard the road, for now they could hope for help to drive out their old enemies. But the Sioux and the Cheyennes could not see the justice of the white men being allowed to go through their lands when they themselves were not allowed to go through the white man's lands. Furthermore they had no intention of peaceably giving up this land that they had stolen from the Crows.

**Sioux troubles in Dakota.** — When gold was discovered in the West, the Sioux began to have trouble with prospectors, because the Black Hills, which became famous for their rich mines, were right in the Sioux Country. The white men had no right to

work the mines on the reservation, and the Indians had just cause to be indignant. The Government, in order to keep peace, held a council with the Sioux in which they offered to buy the Black Hills from the Indians, but the latter had noted that the prospectors had found riches there, and they asked a very high price for it. One Indian said that if the Great Father (the Indian name for the Government) would give each Indian family hundreds of kinds of stock every year that it would not begin to pay for the Black Hills; and he was right. But the Government could not buy it at such a prohibitive price, and so they let the matter rest. The prospectors went on with their mining and they could not be restrained. If one was arrested he would serve out his imprisonment or pay his fine, and as soon as he gained his freedom he would be back at his claim again. While the Government was trying to solve the problem the Indians became restless. When they were ordered to stay on their reservation they rebelled and many went out on the war-path.

**Troops sent to quell the Sioux.** — Affairs came to such a pass that in 1876 it was necessary to send out troops to quell the disturbances. The Indians had retreated to their old hunting grounds and there the soldiers followed them, and the battle was fought in Montana, although they were not Montana Indians. This was the campaign that ended in the dreadful Custer massacre.

The Sioux were such a powerful tribe that it needed a large number of soldiers to subdue them. All the forces in the Rocky Mountain Country were called

out. The troops were under three generals. One command under General Crook was to march north from Fort Laramie, another under General Terry was to come from the east. In the Powder River Country, where the Sioux villages were supposed to be camped, they were to be met by General Gibbon with his command from the military posts of Montana. Brevet Major General George A. Custer was in General Terry's expedition. He was Lieut. Colonel of the Seventh Cavalry and in command of that regiment.

**Plan of the campaign.** — Generals Terry and Gibbon met at the mouth of the Powder River, but General Crook was unsuccessful in joining them or finding the main village of the Sioux. General Crook had an encounter on the 17th of June with a large band under Crazy Horse, on the Rosebud, but it proved ineffectual and he returned to Fort Laramie. Custer was sent with twelve companies of cavalry—the entire Seventh Regiment—to follow up the main village of the Sioux whose trail had been traced for some miles up the Rosebud. Instructions were given him by General Terry before his departure, in writing, which left nearly everything to Custer's discretion. He was to find the village, to attack the Indians if necessary, and not to let them escape to the south. Terry and Gibbon were to follow more slowly, and the combined forces were then to concentrate and annihilate the Sioux and bring them to terms, forcing them to return to the reservation. The best information obtained by any of the commanders, including General Sheridan at

Chicago, placed the number of Indian warriors at eight hundred to one thousand only.

**Custer's plans.**—The village was located on the Little Big Horn, and Custer divided his regiment into three battalions for the attack. Five companies were to go with him to the foot of the village to the north; Captain Benteen, with three companies, was to make a detour to the south and prevent escape in that direction according to General Terry's orders. Major Reno with three companies was to attack and charge the upper end of the village across the river; the remaining company under Captain McDougal was to guard the pack train of supplies and reserve ammunition.

**Custer overlooking the village.**—When Custer's scouts stood on the bluffs and looked over the village the larger number of lodges were hidden from view, around a point of the bluff, so that the village appeared much smaller than it in reality was, and it is supposed that Custer felt positive that with his force he could easily surround and annihilate the whole village, pursuing the same tactics which had won for him victory at the battle of the Wichita. But he was sadly mistaken, for instead of one thousand warriors the number reached between three and five thousand.

**Reno begins the attack.**—Reno crossed the river and was the first to attack, about noon, June 25, 1876, and very shortly discovered Custer's miscalculation. He was amazed at the large number of the enemy, and dismounted his men so that they could thus better defend themselves. They soon

retreated and the soldiers fled in panic across the river.

**Joined by Benteen and McDougal.** — Benteen and McDougal joined them and they entrenched themselves on a hill. About five o'clock they marched to a point of the bluff to see if they could find Custer. From this bluff they looked in all directions for Custer but he was nowhere to be seen. A few shots had been heard, and they, supposing him to have been repulsed and to have retired down the river, returned to the hill whence they had started and improved their rifle pits and other defenses, to be ready in case the Indians should come back and attack them. It was well they were prepared, for the Indians, after they had annihilated Custer, came with added numbers and stormed their forces all the rest of the afternoon and the evening, beginning the attack again at dawn of the next morning. For seven hours the battle lasted, then the Indians retired from the field.

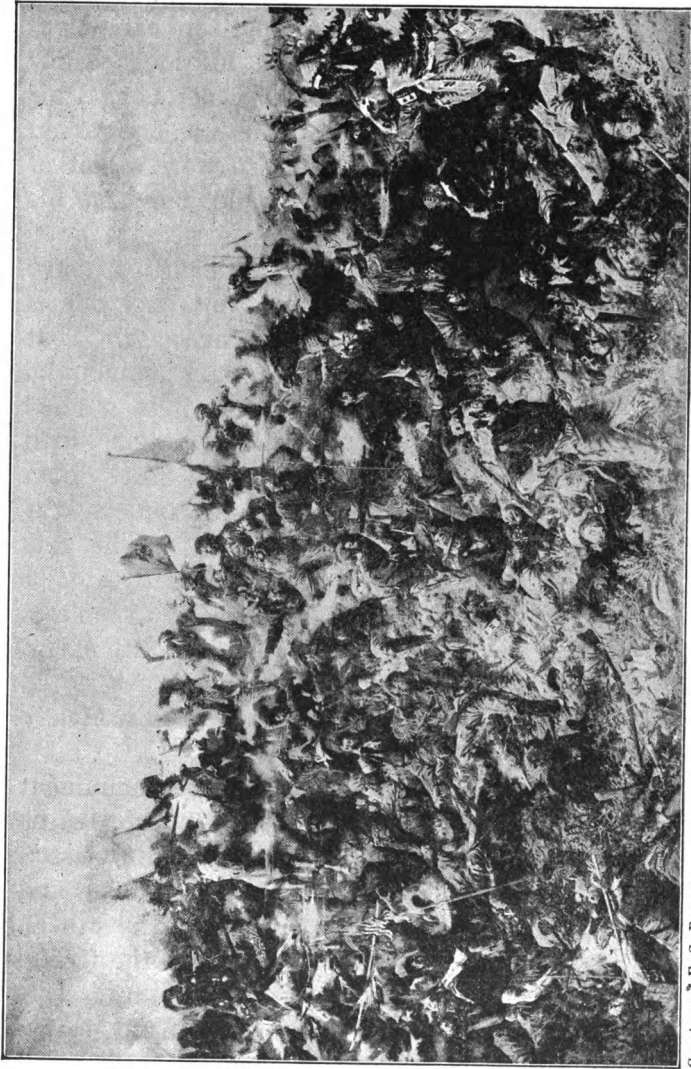
**The Indian village retreats to the south.** — The soldiers feared the Indians were planning another attack, but instead of that they were preparing a retreat, and in the afternoon the immense village was packed up and hurried off to the south to a place of safety, they having discovered the approach of Terry and Gibbon from the north.

**News of Custer.** — The next day, the 27th, Reno and Benteen were reinforced by the remainder of Terry's command. From them they learned the terrible news of the Custer Massacre, wherein not one single officer or soldier survived to tell the story.



As the Indians were gone, the soldiers all went to the scene of the battle, to bury the dead.

**The Custer battle.**—The bodies were mostly found on a high ridge of hills well back from the river, a spot well chosen for defense, where the gallant Custer had been quite surrounded by thousands of Indians. Calhoun's company had been the first to fall, and the others under Keogh, Yates, Tom Custer, and Smith, in one irregular but clearly defined battle line, fell at their posts of duty. The body of Custer himself was found in a group of about thirty officers and men on a little hill at the right. Near him was the body of his brother, Captain Tom Custer. The Chief Long Hair, as Custer was called by the Indians, was not scalped as were the others, nor was his body mutilated in any way. Many reasons have been given by historians for this, but no one really knows why the Indians did not mutilate his body. It was thought at first that the Indians had left him thus out of respect for his bravery shown, not only in this battle but in many others, from whence he had always before returned victorious. Rain-In-The-Face, a Sioux chief, tells us differently. He it was who killed Captain Tom Custer, the General's brother in the fight, and tore out his heart and ate it. This he had threatened to do, when Captain Custer had had him imprisoned for murdering two men connected with the reservation some time before. Rain-In-The-Face said that no man was too brave to be scalped, and the reason that General Custer was not so mutilated was because the Indians did not recognize him and could



**"CUSTER'S LAST STAND"**

*Courtesy of E. S. Paxson*

not find his body. Before starting the campaign, Custer, for the first time, had had his long yellow hair, which had given him his name Chief Long Hair among the Indians, cut short, and this was one reason why he was not recognized. He also wore a suit of buckskin, like a frontier hunter, and bore on his person no insignia of rank.

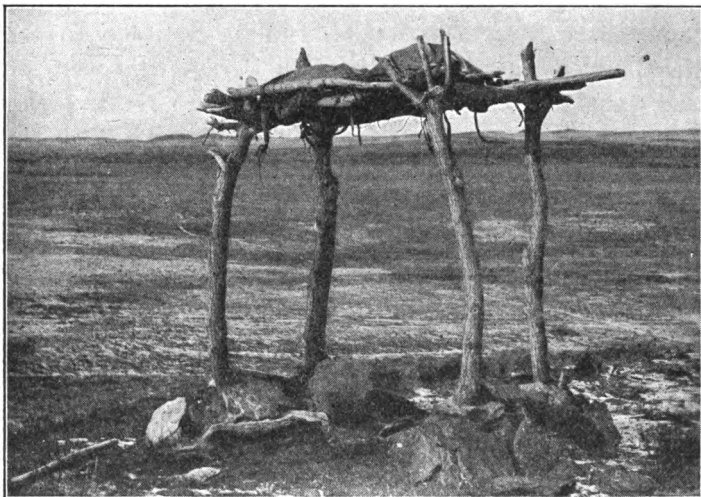
**E. S. Paxson's Painting.** — Several paintings have been made of the Custer massacre, but only one is a true picture from a strictly historical sense. That is one by the Montana artist, E. S. Paxson, who makes a specialty of Indian subjects. He studied the matter thoroughly for years and talked with Indians who were in the battle, and learned from them as far as possible the exact positions of the principal victims in this great tragedy. The late Colonel W. S. Brackett, a nephew of the first commanding officer of Fort Ellis, who knew many officers and men who served in the army in that campaign, and made a study of it, and of the battle, has stated that he believed this painting to be historically accurate in every particular.

**The Custer monument.** — The Custer monument and the graves of the brave soldiers are to be seen from the Burlington Railroad near Fort Custer. The graves are scattered all over the bluffs, and there is one quite a little distance from the others, that of a soldier who tried to escape from the fearful foe.

**The Sioux escaped.** — The Sioux escaped carrying their dead with them, and there was no small number as the Indians have themselves acknowledged.

They were hunted down, in the course of time, by the soldiers and returned to the reservation, but Sitting Bull, the great chief, escaped into Canada.

**Sitting Bull.** — Sitting Bull had pretended to be a great medicine chief, but whenever there was a prospect of a fight he would retire to the hills to make



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A SIOUX WARRIOR'S GRAVE

medicine. As soon as the battle was over he would return to the village and claim all the honor of the victory, saying that it was through his medicine that the braves were able to conquer the enemy. He was finally brought back to his reservation where he was to the day of his death a man of great power among his people. The story of the last days of his life and his tragic death belongs to the history of Dakota.

**The Sioux subdued.** — After the Custer massacre

the Crows and the white settlers of Montana were no more troubled by the Sioux. They were forced to stay on their reservations in Dakota. The Cheyennes were given a reservation of their own in southeastern Montana.

**More Indian troubles.**—The Montana people were no sooner settled down to a feeling of peace than there were rumors of Indian troubles to the west. This time it was the Nez Perces who were on the war-path. This was surprising because the Nez Perces had always been friendly Indians to both the whites and the Indians, having been especially allied with the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles. Their home was in Oregon, in the Wallowa Valley. They had welcomed the white settlers, offering no objections to them, but they did not take kindly to being compelled to stay upon a reservation.

**The Non-treaty Nez Perces.**—Many of the Nez Perces, and especially those connected with the Mission, agreed to stay upon the reservation, but there was a band who objected to it. These were called the Non-treaties. They were under Chief Joseph. He was a son of Old Joseph, who had been Head Chief before him. His home had been very dear to this old chief. He would never sign a treaty. He said that the earth was his mother and that no man had a right to sell his mother. When he died he requested his sons never to sign a treaty giving away their mother. Joseph was true to his father's wish, although he always entertained a friendly feeling toward the whites, and he felt that they had no right to put him on a reservation.

Although Chief Joseph was not hostile he felt that his people had a grievance; his two sub-chiefs, White Bird and Looking Glass, and all his men were bent on hostilities, and he could do nothing else but act with them and assist them to gain their demands. They finally agreed in 1877 to go on the reservation and they were given thirty days in which to fulfil their agreement. They complained at the shortness of time but it was not extended. Incensed at this, White Bird and some of his band in June attacked some settlers and so began the trouble.

**The Battle of the Clearwater in Idaho.**—A small force of soldiers was sent out to quell the disturbance, but all were killed before aid could be sent to them. As soon as reinforcements could be sent, General Howard attacked the Indians. The Battle of the Clearwater was the result. The Indians, who are much more skilful in crossing rivers than are the soldiers who are weighed down with provisions, ammunition, and cannon, crossed over the Clearwater and retreated, going over the Lo-Lo trail into Montana.

**The Indians escape into Montana.**—Because of the delay in procuring reinforcements General Howard, then in command of the military department in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, allowed the Indians to get a week's start in advance, but he sent word to General Gibbon, of the Montana forces, to intercept the Indians and return them to their reservation.

**In the Lo-Lo Canyon.**—At the mouth of the Lo-Lo Canyon, where it opens out into the Bitter Root Valley, Captain Rawn, of the Missoula Fort, met

them and demanded either surrender, or that they turn over to him all arms and ammunition. The Indians replied that they wished only to be allowed to pass quietly through the country; that if they were granted this request, no harm should be done the settlers of the Bitter Root Valley; they were on their way to the Buffalo country, in the Yellowstone Valley, and that they desired to have no trouble with the whites. Captain Rawn paid no heed to their request and placed a strong guard at the mouth of the canyon. Great was his chagrin, a few hours later, to discover that the Indians had quietly slipped down a ravine left unguarded, and were already on their march up the Bitter Root. Captain Rawn followed them until he discovered that they greatly outnumbered his small force, and that it was folly to attempt an attack.

**In the Bitter Root Valley.**—The Indians were not slow to see his move and took their own time in passing through the valley. They stopped at Stevensville to trade with the settlers, and well supplied themselves with guns and ammunition. If they had made quicker time, they could easily have reached the British possessions before they could have been overtaken. But they knew that General Howard was several days behind them and they never thought of such a thing as forces from another direction. Such there were, however, and General Gibbon, who arrived in Missoula with his troops two or three days after Captain Rawn's adventure with them, was fast gaining upon them. The Indians went leisurely over the trail and down into the Big Hole Valley.

**General Gibbon overtakes them.**—A day or two before the battle Lieut. Bradley and Lieut. Jacobs of General Gibbon's command had been sent ahead with the mounted volunteers and eight of the Second Cavalry to exactly locate the village, and if possible drive off the herds and render the escape of the Indians impossible. They moved on cautiously and when informed by the scouts that they were nearing the village, the two lieutenants and a corporal crept on ahead, leaving the men in camp. By climbing a high pine tree they were enabled to see the village, with all the inhabitants peacefully occupied in the duties of camp life. The squaws were engaged in cutting lodge poles, for on the march ahead of them there were few trees and they must needs carry their lodge poles with them. Lieutenant Bradley immediately sent a courier to General Gibbon and then waited in camp for the coming of the command.

**Battle of the Big Hole.**—On the morning of August 9th, 1877, the attack was made. Lieutenant Bradley was sent down the stream with his men to attack the village from that side. They could easily have run off the herd, but fearing to arouse the village before all was ready, they left the animals quietly grazing. They later saw their mistake, for the ponies were not guarded at all, so secure had the Indians felt in their camp. A herder was the first to awake in the camp. He was going out to look after the horses. He was shot down by Bradley's party and killed. This was the signal for the beginning of the battle. The Indians were completely



surprised and ran yelling from their teepees, some of them so badly frightened as to forget their guns. They soon gained composure, and the battle raged hotly on both sides, the squaws fighting as hard as the men. Many brave men lost their lives, among them Captain Logan and Lieut. Bradley. They were both killed early in the fight. The soldiers were at last compelled to retreat to shelter. At once the squaws set to work to prepare the village for departure. Teepees were taken down and all the effects packed, and the squaws and children retreated down the river, driving the loose ponies before them. The warriors stayed with the fight, surrounding the brush in which the soldiers had taken refuge. On the morning of the eleventh the warriors retreated.

**Bitter Root settlers killed.**— There were several Bitter Root settlers who were killed in the battle. They had joined the soldiers in the pursuit of the Indians. The Flatheads and other friends of the Nez Perces felt that this was a poor return for the peaceful passage which the Nez Perces had made through the unprotected valley. But we must remember that there were few modes of communication in those days and these people had heard wild stories of how the Nez Perces were on the war-path, and were coming through the country killing all in their way. The settlers were panic-stricken, even after the Indians had passed, not knowing when they might return and make use of the guns and ammunition which had been reluctantly sold to them in Stevensville, and the men who joined the soldiers

in pursuit of the Indians did so to protect their own homes. Those who were killed in the battle were the only settlers in the Bitter Root Valley who suffered at the hands of the Nez Perces.

**In the Yellowstone National Park.**— After leaving the Big Hole Valley the Nez Perces turned toward the southwest, going by way of Henry's Lake into the Yellowstone National Park. Here they found two or three parties of tourists, and, the war spirit in them being now thoroughly aroused, gave these travelers more adventure than they had looked for. One party in particular was very badly treated. Two of the men were severely wounded and another man and two women were made captives, but were later given their liberty.

**Colonel Miles meets the Indians.**— After leaving the Park, the Indians crossed over to Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone and upon reaching the Yellowstone made straight for the Bear Paw Mountains. There they were headed off by Colonel Miles, who had hurried from his campaign with the Sioux, at the word of General Howard, to prevent them from reaching the British possessions.

**Battle of the Bear Paw Mountains.**— A second time Chief Joseph had "reckoned without his hosts"; he thought he had left all his enemies far behind. The whole village was resting quietly, so near the haven where they would be, and to reach which they had undergone such dangers. The first act of Colonel Miles' men was to drive off the ponies. This left the Indians no means of escape. The fight was a most desperate one, for, although the Indians were

hemmed in on all sides, they kept the soldiers back for four days and nights. On the fifth day a messenger was sent by Colonel Miles to ask for a surrender. As the terms were to be unconditional Joseph refused and the fight was continued.

**Joseph surrenders.** — Again Miles asked for an interview with Joseph, and on the promise of the former that the Indians should be allowed to have their home again and all be sent to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho, Joseph surrendered with all that was left of his people.

## 5. SOURCES OF MILITARY HISTORY

**Government records.** — The records of all expeditions and works performed by the Government are to be found in the Government documents. Information which can be found nowhere else is often found there, and we can be sure that it is accurate. Unfortunately a great deal is not available to the general public, because often the reports are put in with others of a different character, and if the reports are not very carefully catalogued, they are not to be found.

Then again, in the case of the very old reports, these have been long out of print and are hard to get copies of.

**Survey reports.** — The reports of the railroad survey in 1853 are full of all sorts of information about the West. These reports are in twelve large volumes, or rather thirteen — for the twelfth volume is in two parts. The first and twelfth volumes are the ones that tell about the surveys in Montana. They not

only tell about the lay of the land and the character of the rivers, the trails, and the passes over the mountains, but they also describe the plants, and animals and rocks, and tell about the Indians whom the surveyors met in their travels. They also tell about the life at the Missions and at the trading posts.

**Lieut. Mullan.**—The Government has issued a report of the building of the Mullan Road giving the route and other details. Lieutenant Mullan gives many facts which are interesting to those studying about the early days. It is especially so to those living in the country through which the road passed. This report is only to be obtained from second-hand dealers.

**Captain Raynolds.**—Captain Raynolds' report of his exploration is to be found in the Senate Documents, 2nd Session, 40th Congress, 1867-68. It is Executive Document No. 77. It gives a day by day report of the events of the exploration, and a good description of that part of the country before there was any settlement.

**Army and Navy Journals.**—In the Army and Navy Journals the record is given of all operations at the posts, the building of new posts, and the account of all battles and engagements. So if you know the date of an event you can find it in the Journals, if you can find one for that year.

**Garrison life.**—Some of the soldiers who were stationed at posts in Montana have written about their experiences and the wives of two of the soldiers have written for us books which give an idea of

garrison life and the everyday life of the soldiers. These two women are Mrs. Custer and Mrs. Carrington.

**Mrs. Custer's books.**—Mrs. Custer's stories, "Following the Guidon," "Boots and Saddles," and "Tenting on the Plains," are full of interesting details of army life in the west,—not much of it Montana life, but enough to form an idea of what the life of our own soldiers was. The letters to his wife from Colonel Custer form a large part of her books. They tell the story of the preparation for the last march into the Yellowstone Country. The last pages of "Boots and Saddles" give the despair of the garrison when the news came which "wrecked the lives of twenty-six women at Fort Lincoln" and of the "orphaned children of officers and soldiers [who] joined their cry to that of their bereaved mothers."

**Mrs. Carrington.**—Mrs. Carrington's narrative "Ab-sa-ra-ka; the land of Massacre," tells all about the experiences of the 18th Infantry while they were stationed at Fort Phil Kearney in Wyoming. She gives a full account—with full sympathy for the Indians—of the trouble between the Sioux and the Cheyennes and the whites. Her narrative is added to by her husband, Colonel Carrington, who gives the ending of the whole trouble with the Custer Massacre.

**Lieut. Bradley.**—Lieutenant Bradley wrote a number of historical sketches while he was stationed at Fort Ellis. His manuscripts were presented by his wife to the Montana Historical Society, and they

have been printed in different volumes of the "Contributions."

**Chief Joseph.** — The story of the Battle of the Big Hole has been told by many people. Some have even told the story from the standpoint of the Indians, but one man is now writing a full account. He is a personal friend of Chief Joseph's and he says Chief Joseph has never talked to any one but him about his trouble. When his work is published it will be an important contribution to the sources of the history of this period.

## PART VIII

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE

#### 1. EARLY QUARTZ DAYS

**Intruders.**—While the white men were digging their fortunes out of the earth, the Indians looked on in sorrow, and well they might, for these intruders had appropriated to themselves the very land most prized by all the tribes; the common hunting ground. Here in the protected valleys the Indians had been sure of finding game the year around. But the passing back and forth of hundreds of wagons and horsemen had driven the game back into the mountains, and the Indians might well follow. It was no use to remonstrate. The experiences of other tribes had proved this to them. And there was no hope that the white men would go back to the land from whence they had come, for they were building permanent villages and planting farms.

**The old placer towns.**—The placers had been a great gain to the white men. No one can compute the value of the millions of ounces of gold dust taken out of the sands of the gulches, nor can any one tell how many fortunes had been made and lost again in those first years. Many had gained the nucleus of a comfortable income, others had re-invested and had lost all. Five mining towns had

been made: Bannack, Virginia City, Helena, Butte, and Diamond City. Of these five, all except the last one, which was in Confederate Gulch, have played an important part in the development of the State. Although the placers were highly important in their richness, still they were not permanent, and were soon worked out. What made the placers of most value was the fact that they showed the presence of quartz under the surface, and it was the quartz discoveries that turned the placer diggings into permanent towns. Of the five camps, Butte and Helena became the most important; Butte because of her immense ore deposits; and Helena, because of her central location. The railroads, of course, had much to do with the development of these towns, but had the quartz of Diamond, Bannock, and Virginia warranted it, the railroads would have found a way through them, too.

The stage stations of Missoula, Deer Lodge, and Bozeman, with Fort Benton, the head of navigation, have also grown into important towns.

**Discovery of quartz.** — The first discovery of gold-bearing quartz was made in 1862 (the same year that the first rich placers were discovered), at Bannack, when in November the Dakotah Lode was located. A rudely constructed mill was completed in 1863 for the purpose of reducing the ore from this mine. This was the first quartz mill, but others were built before the year was out. More quartz discoveries were made in 1864 and 1865 at Helena, Philipsburg, and Butte. Philipsburg was then known as the Flint Creek District. The quartz mines there



were of silver which in those days meant as much as gold. The mines at Helena were of gold and those of Butte were of silver. It was not until a rich strike in copper was made in the Anaconda Mine in the



PROSPECTOR PANNING OUT GOLD

early eighties that Butte was known as a copper camp.

**Prospectors.**—These discoveries were only prospects; many were thought at that time to be only “holes in the ground.” It was the later developments which proved the value of the mines. The men who found the lodes were only prospectors, who were usually employed by some one else to go out

into the hills looking for lodes, but many times they were prospecting for themselves. They would come into the camps after many weeks of prospecting, with samples of ore in heavy canvas sacks strapped upon their pack animals. When these samples were assayed they showed the value of the ore. When the men were too poor to pay the expenses of assaying, they selected average specimens from different parts of the vein or lode, pulverized them in an iron mortar, and washed them out in a pan, just as they had washed out the placer dirt. If they found any grains of gold they concluded that they had found a good thing, and in nine cases out of ten it proved a true test.

**Scientific men.**—As soon as it was known that quartz lodes of great value had been found, a new class of people flocked into the Territory. Among them were scientific men, assayers, and operators, and a considerable quantity of property passed into the hands of men who could control the means to develop it. One of these was A. K. Eaton, a practical chemist and assayer. He discovered a number of lodes in the Rattlesnake Hills, twelve miles from Bannack.

**Philipsburg.**—The prospects on Flint Creek proved to be the most valuable of all the silver lodes; the Granite Mountain Mine there was said to be the richest silver mine in the world, and Philipsburg grew and prospered until the fall in the price of silver, when, like all other silver districts, the mines had to be shut down because they could not pay expenses.

**Helena.**—The quartz found around Helena was gold. The first strike was made in 1864 by James W. Whitlatch, in the Whitlatch Union Mine, and in three years it yielded over one million dollars. But the richest of the gold mines was the one known as the Drum Lummon, discovered by Thomas Cruse, who himself owned it.

**Butte.**—The quartz mines of Butte were not discovered as soon as the others although it was known that there was quartz there, for the greatest interest was with the placer mines and only those who were themselves owners of quartz claims gave much attention to it. The real pioneers of Butte were G. O. Humphreys and William Allison. They located two claims in May, 1864, the Original and the Missoula, but it is not known which was the first. A little work had been done previously, by some one unknown, on the Original, as there had been a hole dug. This hole might have been dug by Indians searching for gay colored stones, as the diggings had been done with elk horns.

**The Travonia.**—Other lodes were located soon after those of Humphreys and Allison; these were in the southwestern part of the town on what was afterwards known as "Lovers' Knoll." The principal discovery there was the Travonia, which was made by William L. Farlin and was a producer for a number of years. The Black Chief, the Parrot, the Shakespeare Parrot, the Grey Eagle, and the Mountain were located at about the same time, and had it not been for the richness of the placer mines soon after discovered along the Silver Bow Creek, it is

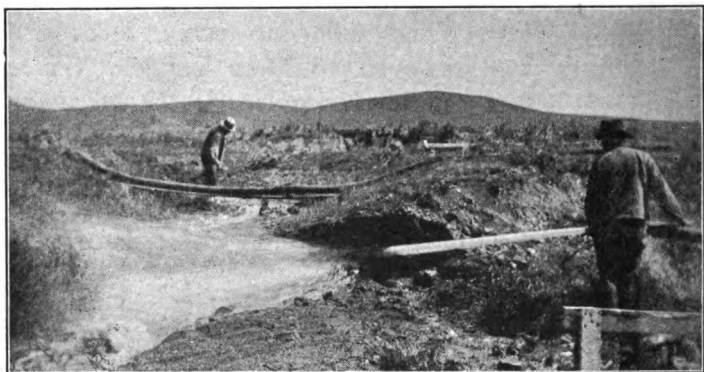
probable that Butte's quartz boom would have come several years earlier than it did, for all of these properties were of good promise.

**Silver Bow.**—The present mining district was organized with William Allison as president and G. O. Humphreys as recorder. Silver Bow became the county seat of Deer Lodge County, which then embraced the three present ones of Powell, Deer Lodge, and Silver Bow. The following year, 1865, the county seat was removed to Deer Lodge. Silver Bow then had a thousand people. Butte began to grow about 1866. Mail for the people there came by way of Virginia City, and was brought across by Pony Express which was operated by William Vernon. He carried only letters, and charged twenty-five cents each.

**W. L. Farlin.**—When Butte was deserted in 1869 there were a few who stood by the camp. Two of these were W. L. Farlin and Joseph Ramsdell, and they were well repaid for their faith. They received for years nothing but ridicule for working their quartz claims with such patience. During this time Mr. Farlin took a journey to Salt Lake and the States, taking with him samples of ore from his claims. When they were assayed they proved rich in silver. On his return to Butte he told no one of his discoveries but prospected more and when January 1, 1875 came, he re-located thirteen claims. Others soon guessed the good news and many claims were located. The Travonia was one of those which Mr. Farlin had re-located. He had been shipping the ore ever since 1865 to Fort Benton by wagon. The

ore was rich and well worth shipping. In 1875 he determined to work his own ore, and built the Dexter Mill in what is now the Travonia Addition.

Mr. Farlin's success infused new life into the camp, business picked up, and many who had deserted the town returned. The "old-timers" felt that it was Mr. Farlin alone who had saved Butte from oblivion;



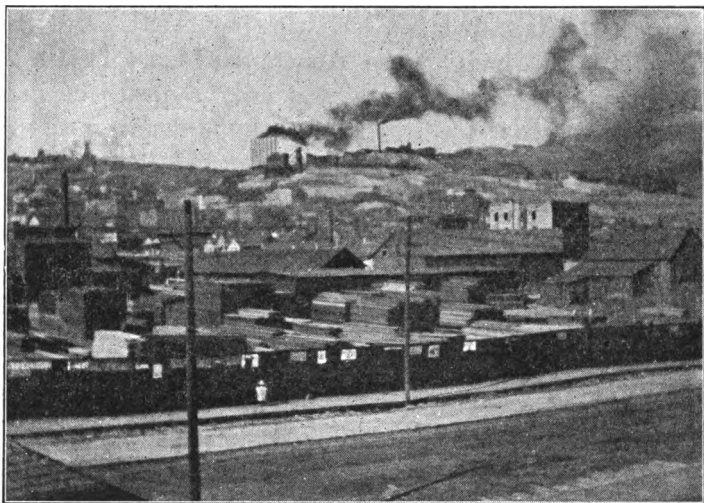
HYDRAULIC MINING

others had done nobly in a smaller way but none to such an extent as he.

**William J. Parks.** — There were a number of men who had claims up around what we now call Anaconda Hill. Only one was at first worked. This was owned by a man named William J. Parks. It was the Parrot Mine, which has for many years been one of Butte's big mines. He would work at other things until he could get enough money to buy provisions to keep him for a few months, then he would work on his claim. After sinking his shaft 155 feet he came to paying ore. The others who owned

adjoining claims then began to work their mines. They profited by his hard work and persistence.

**Joseph Ramsdell's smelter.**—Butte had also a smelter which was one of the first in the Territory. It was built in 1866 by Joseph Ramsdell but, as it did not pay, work had been suspended and the



ANACONDA HILL

building was allowed to go to decay. Until a few years ago the walls were still standing under the hill on which the Washington Schoolhouse now stands.

**W. A. Clark and Marcus Daly.**—About this time W. A. Clark moved to Butte and began his career; the next year after, Marcus Daly came. They were connected with mining development from the time of their arrival. Clark, in 1879, built the first of the large smelters; and Daly purchased property

for Eastern capitalists. A dispute over a water right caused the unfortunate antagonism between these two men, which afterward for many years kept the western part of the State in a political turmoil.

**The Anaconda Mine.** — It was Marcus Daly who bought the Alice Mine for the Walker Brothers, of Salt Lake, in 1876 for \$25,000. He left their employ soon after and identified himself with another company, for whom he bought the Anaconda Mine, in 1881. The property at the time was only a prospect but he paid \$30,000 for it. It was bought for a silver mine, and it was rich in silver, but before the shaft had been sunk far, a vein of copper was discovered of such dimensions as to startle the people of the camp, and start a new era in mining development.

## 2. THE EXPLORATION OF THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

**Stories of a strange land.** — The settlers had been hearing from time to time wonderful stories of a strange region in the vicinity of the Upper Yellowstone. These stories were told by an occasional trapper or old mountaineer, but as these men were fond of embellishing the truth, not much attention was paid to them. After awhile people began to wonder if there really were such a region and expeditions were talked of, as early as 1866, to explore the Upper Yellowstone; but at that time the Indians in the neighborhood were beginning to be fearful of the encroachments of the whites and were inclined to be rather hostile, and men were afraid to venture into their country without proper military escort.

**The Folsom party.** — In the year 1869, D. E. Folsom, C. W. Cook, and a Mr. Peterson determined to go at all hazards. They went and returned unmolested. They visited the Grand Canyon, the Falls of the Yellowstone, the Yellowstone Lake, and the Lower Geyser Basin. These phenomena were so wonderful and strange to them that they hesitated to tell what they had seen, thinking that their word, too, might be doubted. To a few of their friends only they told the whole story and these friends planned to go at a later date and see for themselves these wonders.

**The Washburn party.** — In 1870 quite an extensive party was organized. The men of this party were Henry D. Washburn, Cornelius Hedges, Samuel T. Hauser, Warren C. Gillette, Benjamin Stickney, Walter Trumbull, Truman C. Evarts, and Nathaniel P. Langford. General Washburn was chosen leader of the expedition. Five soldiers under Lieut. G. C. Doane of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry accompanied them.

**The wonders of the Yellowstone.** — They proceeded from Bozeman up the Yellowstone, past the Mammoth Hot Springs to the Grand Canyon. They were filled with wonder and awe at the sight of the Grand Canyon and Falls, the boiling springs, the sulphurous mountain, and the mud geyser, and Mr. Langford said that the Lake seemed to them to be the most beautiful body of water in the world. About two weeks was spent in making a tour around the Lake, during which time they had many thrilling adventures.



**A man lost.** — Their most serious adventure was that of losing one of their number, Mr. Evarts. He was not found until about a month after the return of the expedition. Two experienced trappers and old mountaineers found him about seventy-five miles from Fort Ellis. Mr. Langford says in his diary: "The narrative of Mr. Evarts, of his thirty-seven days sojourn in the wilderness, furnishes a chapter in the history of human endurance, exposure, and escape, almost as incredible as it is painfully instructive and entertaining." This narrative was published in Scribner's Magazine for November, 1871, and in Volume V of the Montana Historical Society Publications.

**Geysers.** — After leaving the Lake, where they missed Mr. Evarts, their whole thought was to reach home as soon as possible, as the provisions were becoming low and they were anxious to reach civilization in order to send out help to the lost man. They had decided to do no more exploring, but on their way, as they were searching for the Upper Valley of the Madison, they came upon the Fire Hole River with all its wonders. They were amazed! They had seen innumerable boiling springs and pools of both mud and water, but now for the first time they were gazing at real geysers.

**A national park.** — It was not to be wondered at that these explorers might have schemes for making from these wonders of nature some personal gain. There was much discussion among them on the subject, until finally a thought was presented by Mr. Hedges that the whole region be set apart

as a great national park, and that each one of them ought to make an effort to have this accomplished. This idea had also been suggested by David E. Folsom of the first expedition. Mr. Langford says: "The bill for the creation of the Park was introduced into the House of Representatives by Hon. William H. Clagett, delegate from Montana Territory. . . . It is true that Professor Hayden (of the U. S. Geological Survey) joined with Mr. Clagett and myself in working for the passage of the act of dedication, but no person can divide with Cornelius Hedges and David E. Folsom the honor of *originating the idea* of creating the Yellowstone Park."

### 3. MONTANA'S EARLY GOVERNORS

**The first governors.**—The governors who were in office after Sidney Edgerton, and during the early quartz days were General Francis Meagher, Green Clay Smith, J. M. Ashley, and Benjamin F. Potts.

**General Francis Meagher.**—General Meagher succeeded Sidney Edgerton. He was in reality only the acting governor, and his term was short. While in Fort Benton, attending to the affairs of the Territory, he fell from the deck of a steamboat and was drowned.

**Green Clay Smith.**—The next governor was Green Clay Smith who held office for three years. During this time Governor Smith had the Territory thoroughly examined by scientific men who gave reports upon its minerals and agricultural possibilities.

**J. M. Ashley.**—Governor J. M. Ashley was appointed in 1869. He had been interested in the

West for some years, having been chairman of the Committee of Territories while he was in Congress. It was he who had introduced the bill for the organization of Montana Territory in February, 1863, and who had suggested the name Montana. When Ashley became governor his family came out to the Territory by rail as far as Ogden, and from there to Helena by stage. These stage rides were full of discomforts, especially for little folks, for the stages were nearly always crowded. During this ride one of the little boys was squeezed in between two grown persons on a seat far too narrow, while his brothers were seated on trunks outside.

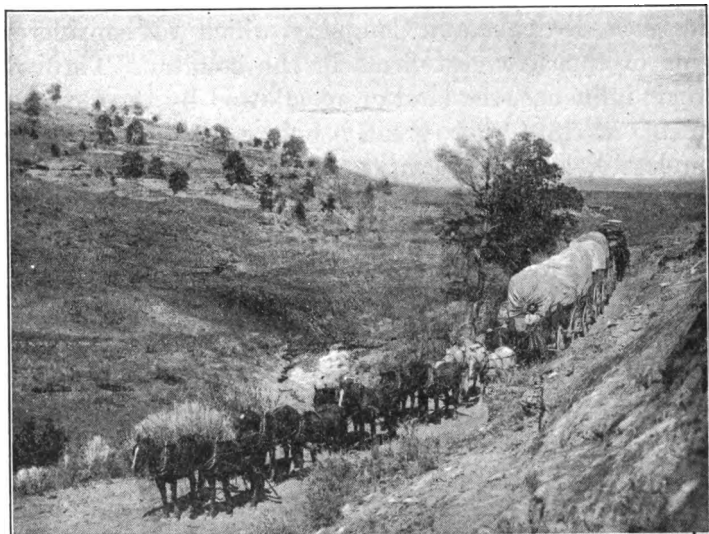
**Benjamin F. Potts.** — Governor Ashley was in office not longer than two years when he was removed for political reasons, and Benjamin F. Potts was appointed to succeed him. Governor Potts held the office by reappointment until January, 1883. His was the longest administration of any governor in Montana, and during that time the Territory developed rapidly from a mining country to one of many resources.

#### 4. BUILDING OF RAILROADS

**Railroads a novelty.** — Twenty years the people of Montana had been without a railroad. This was not the hardship in those days that it would be to us now. Railroads were almost a novelty at the time that gold was discovered in Montana, for the first one in the United States had not been built until 1830. There were many places in the East which had not rail connections. The people were quite used to traveling

by stage-coach, but even so it was not pleasant or restful.

**The first Montana railroad.**—The first Montana railroad came up from the south. It was a branch of the Union Pacific connecting with that line at Ogden, Utah. It was a narrow gauge and went as far as



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A "JERK-LINE TWELVE"

Garrison where a year later it connected with the Northern Pacific. There was great dissatisfaction with the new road, for such exorbitant freight rates were charged that many of the merchants and others who sent goods by freight had to go back to the old teaming methods, finding it cheaper to ship their goods by private teams to and from the Union Pacific. The building of the Northern Pacific in 1883

was a great relief to them, for with the rise of competition the rates became cheaper, and the new route was more direct.

**The Northern Pacific.**—The Northern Pacific Company was formed by a number of New England men. They did not accomplish much until 1869 when they succeeded in interesting in it a large banking firm, J. Cooke and Company, which was considered one of the strongest firms in the country. Through their influence, the land grant allowed by the Government in 1864 was greatly enlarged.\* It must be understood that this was not in a solid block of land, but was every alternate section and a limited number of sections to each mile. Even so it was an immense lot of land for one company. A great panic occurred in 1873 and much to the surprise of everybody this strong banking firm failed, and the Northern Pacific Company was bankrupt. The controlling interest of all transportation facilities at the Pacific terminal of the road, which they had obtained through the influence of this firm, was now lost.

**Billings and Villard.**—Nothing further was done until 1879 when Frederick Billings became president of the road. He secured money enough to finish the construction of it. Another influential man then became interested. This was Henry Villard. He was working for his own interests. For himself, he bought the transportation facilities in Oregon and formed the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, building a road up the south bank of the Columbia,

\* Cy Warman in his "Story of the Railroad" says: "It practically enlarged the area of the land grant to thirty miles in the States, and fifty miles in the Territories on each side of the line."

and succeeded in inducing the Northern Pacific Company to use it. He tried to make them agree not to build another road parallel to his, but he was unsuccessful in this. His next move was to purchase enough stock in the Northern Pacific to obtain a controlling interest. Then he had his own way and in 1881 he became the president of the road.

**The golden spike.**— When the road was finished through Montana a golden spike was driven near the station of Garrison in celebration of the great event. On this day in 1883 a special train filled with people of prominence from all over the Territory was sent to Garrison for the occasion. Speech making and feasting accompanied the exercises of the driving of the spike.

**Commercial effect of the railroad.**— The building of the railroad did more than connect the Montana people with the outside world, it brought them more in touch with each other. It gave the small towns in the Territory an opportunity to share in the prosperity of the more fortunate towns. It gave the farmers a chance, too. It developed the resources of the whole Territory.

**Ending of navigation of the Missouri.**— The building of the railroad made another great change. The history of the Missouri River in Montana as a navigable stream came to an end, not because it was no more navigable but because the railroads were so much better able to handle the business.

**The Great Northern railway.**— A few years later the Great Northern was built across Montana. This developed the northern part of the state. It made

a town at the Great Falls of the Missouri and it saved the town of Fort Benton from oblivion. Fort Benton had been for twenty years the business center of Montana and the stopping of the boat lines had been a sad blow to the town.

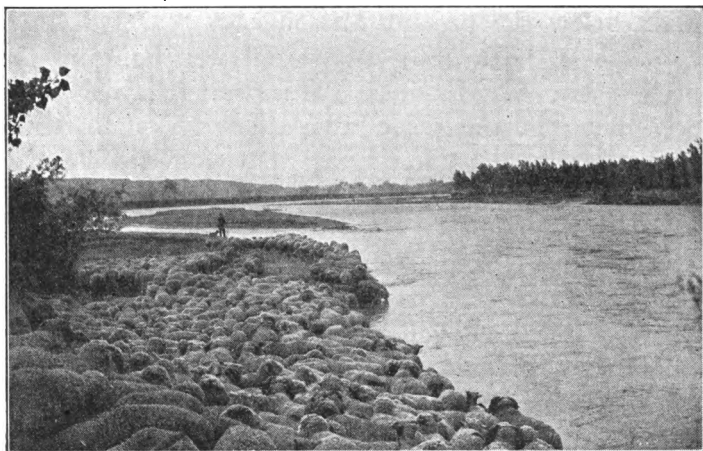
**"Jim Hill's Road."**—The Great Northern was known as "Jim Hill's Road." It ran from St. Paul to the Pacific Coast, parallel with the Northern Pacific, but a hundred miles or more to the north. It entered Montana through the Missouri Valley where old Fort Union used to be, but it left the Missouri at the mouth of the Milk River and went up that valley, crossing the mountains by the Marias Pass. The road was not finished to the coast until 1893, but it had reached Helena in 1887. The building of this road was quite remarkable because it was so well managed. Other trans-continental roads had all sorts of financial troubles but this one was built without any State or Government land grant. When Mr. Hill took it in charge there was a debt of thirty million dollars to be overcome, but during all his management the road never once "defaulted the interest on its bonds or passed a dividend."

## 5. AGRICULTURAL VALLEYS

**Early farmers.**—There had been a few farms since almost the first, when it had been discovered that everybody was not going to get rich by finding gold. Those who were unsuccessful in locating a good claim tried their hand at some occupation which would be useful to the successful miners. All

had to have butter, eggs, milk, meat, and vegetables, and the one who would raise these necessities was eagerly patronized.

**The Bitter Root Valley.**— The first farms were in the Bitter Root Valley at Stevensville. A few men who lived at Fort Owen or near there planted the first crops and took the first fruit up the valley and



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SHEEP AT THE RIVER

over into the Big Hole Country to the mines. Thomas W. Harris was the first man in the Bitter Root to take up farming as a business. The missionaries had had a farm there for ten or more years before Mr. Harris planted his first crops, but their object was merely to raise enough for their existence, and to teach the Indians farming methods. Mr. Harris farmed on a small scale at Fort Owen until 1863, when he moved to Three Mile. There he



planted his orchard in 1866. His trees did fairly well, but he was not as successful as were the Bass Brothers who planted their orchard in 1870 at Stevensville. It took some ten years to make fruit growing a paying business, but once started it gained for the Bitter Root Valley a name of which it is justly proud. There were a few farmers at Hell Gate, a small town now abandoned, which stood about five miles below the present Missoula.

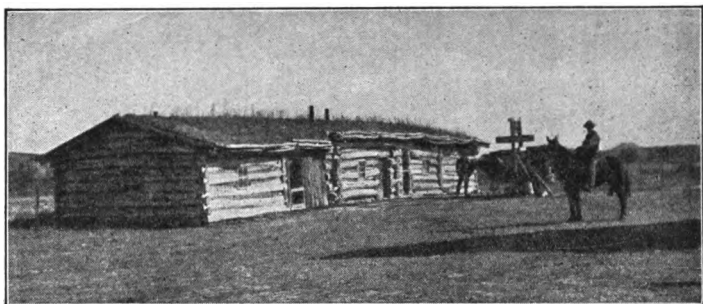
**Missoula.**—In 1864 a saw-mill was built on the present site of Missoula. This was followed by a grist-mill and the place was called Missoula Mills. This was in the same year that Stevensville was established as a town. Before that Stevensville had been known merely as Major Owen's Trading Post.

**The Upper Columbia Basin.**—The Bitter Root Valley was a part of the Upper Columbia Basin. There were three valleys in this basin: the Bitter Root, the Missoula (Hell Gate), and the Flathead. As the latter was the reservation for the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians it was not developed as the other two were, although it was quite as fertile.

**The Deer Lodge Valley.**—The Deer Lodge Valley was up in the mountains at the head of the Missoula Valley. It was an important agricultural section in the early days but it suffered in later years from the mines and smelters of Butte and Anaconda. The beautiful little Deer Lodge River became a gray muddy stream; the fish which had been one of its chief attractions sought other streams and the water was unfit for irrigating purposes. Although there are still large farms in the Deer Lodge Valley, it

might have developed into a much more productive region had it not been for the smelters.

**Eastern valleys.** — Good agricultural valleys were found on the eastern side of the mountains in the Missouri Basin. These were the Yellowstone, the Gallatin, the Madison, the Jefferson, the Sun River, the Judith, and the Prickly Pear Valleys. Of these the Gallatin was the most productive. More atten-



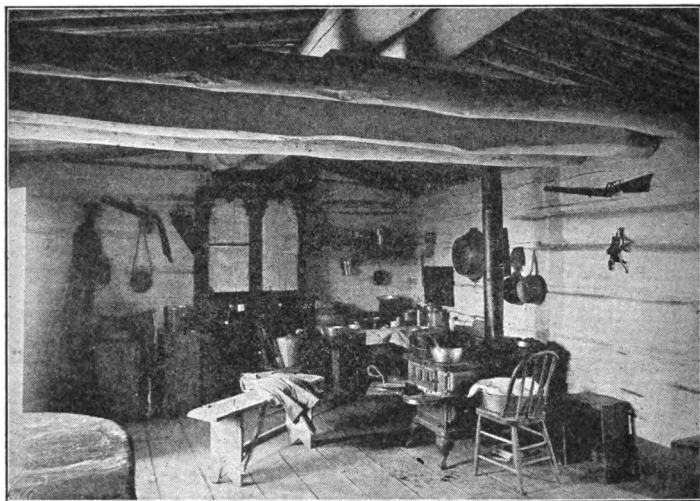
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#### AN OLD TIME CATTLE RANCH

tion was given there to the raising of grains, especially barley.

**Montana products.** — An old almanac which was printed in Virginia City in 1869 says, "These valleys, as well as many others throughout the Territory, are thickly settled for a new country, with thrifty and enterprising farmers, whose fields produce abundantly of wheat, barley, oats, etc., and whose cattle, winter and summer, literally fatten on a thousand hills, without shelter or other food than the mountain grasses. It was at first thought that agriculture would be confined to the bottom lands, but experience has proven that its area is only circumscribed

by the limits of water for irrigation. . . . In the Bitter Root and Hell Gate Valleys, which are the oldest agricultural districts, orchards have been brought to a point of production and are expected to bear largely this season. . . . Seven flouring mills, three in Gallatin, two in Missoula, one in Lewis and



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#### A RANCH INTERIOR

Clark, and one in Madison [Counties], produced about 250,000 sacks of flour [in 1869]. This flour from Montana wheat is equal to the best imported and gives conclusive evidence of self-sustaining agricultural capacity.”

These old reports, some of them issued by the Government and others by local newspapers, are interesting for they show how agriculture and stock-raising progressed from year to year until at the end

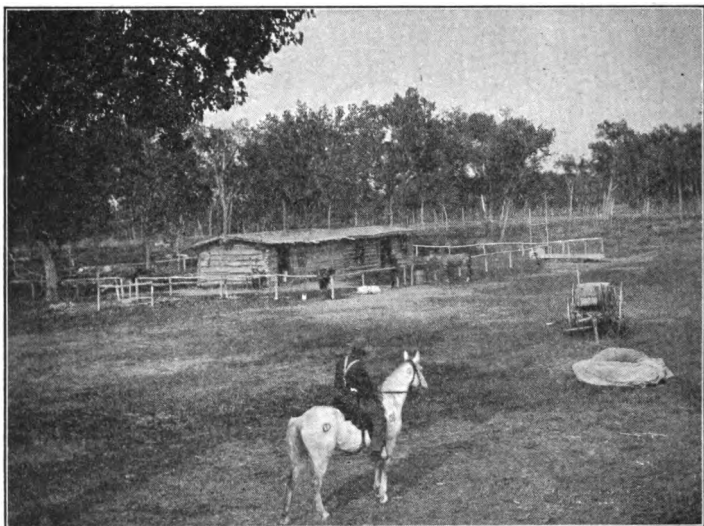
of the century there were farms in all the valleys of the State; Montana apples and strawberries became famous, and the farmers found that by diligence and proper irrigation almost anything could be raised that would grow in the temperate zone.

#### 6. STOCK-RAISING

**Horses.**—Farming was too slow an occupation for many of the settlers and some of the unsuccessful miners found even other avenues to success. One man saw an opening in taking care of the horses of the prospectors. He kept them in a herd a few miles out of town, bringing them in whenever they were needed. To this herd he added horses of his own until it grew into a ranch. Later on another horse rancher joined him and together they maintained the old "V. F." ranch, which was well known in all that country for many years. They needed horses back East in those days, as many horses had been killed in the war. They needed them in the army, and they needed them at home to work on the farms, and for other domestic uses.

Another man who raised horses shipped them down the Missouri by boat. When the hay gave out the crew would have to hunt along shore for something for the horses to eat. This was not very hard after they reached the part of the country where there were farms, as any one was glad to exchange hay for gold dust; but in the Upper Country sometimes there was nothing but cottonwood boughs to give them. The horses never suffered for food and were fat enough for market when port was reached.

**Cattle.**— Other men engaged in cattle-raising. Those who had come across the country remembered the grassy plains where their stock had had plenty of fattening food, remembered that the buffalo thrived on these grasses and lived through the winters with no protection. They rightly thought that cattle also



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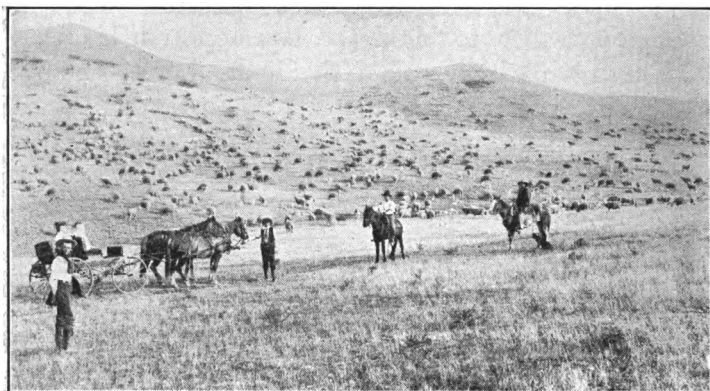
THE OLD "O X" COW CAMP

could live just as the buffalo had. So they tried it with a few head, and these did so well that more were added and then they began turning them out into the open stretches of country and soon more tried it until there were cattle all through the Yellowstone Valley, the Big Hole, and the Missouri. Summer and winter the cattle looked after themselves; they were not used for milking but were like wild

animals. It seems strange to think that with those thousands of cows there was no milk to be had on the home ranches of the stock farms. Condensed milk and shipped-in butter were used exclusively. It was not necessary for the stockmen to own much land; all they had to do was to find a good pasture with running water, which they occupied with their cattle. It was only necessary to actually own enough on which to build the houses for their crews. This was what they called the home ranch. Under these convenient conditions the industry flourished and the cattlemen in a few years found themselves rich.

**Branding cattle.**—All owners of cattle were required by law to have them branded. This was done at the general round-ups which occurred two or three times a year. These round-ups were a great saving of time and expense, because as the herds spread over considerable territory it was not convenient for owners to hunt up singly their cattle in order to sell or brand them. For that reason the owners co-operated and drove all the cattle within their territories to common centers. Here the cattle all being together it was easy for the cow-boys to "cut-out" those of their own herds. The calves were then branded, the fat cattle meant for market were driven into corrals, and the others turned loose again until the next round-up. Every few days a different district was included until the whole range had been gone over. These districts were divided into smaller ones averaging ten to twelve miles, which could be rounded up in a day.

**Imported cattle.** — The first cattle were brought in from the South. They were Texas cattle and were accustomed to range life; then other breeds were imported from the East, Durhams, Herefords, and others. The mixture made a very good breed well able to stand the rigors of the climate and produce desirable beef. These thrived so well that Eastern



SHEEP IN CUSTER COUNTY

capitalists became interested, invested in cattle, and sent them out to Montana. This was the more easily done then for they could be shipped out by rail. So many were shipped out that at last the ranges became overstocked.

**A severe winter.** — The overstocking of the range would not in itself have been a drawback as there were still more remote valleys where all could have ranged, but there came a severe winter with much snow which had followed an extremely dry summer. The cattle were not able to stand the severe weather

and tens of thousands perished. This was the winter of 1886-7. The capitalists were so discouraged that many sold out at any price they could get, and the effect was that the market was nearly ruined, and the evil effects were felt for several seasons. The cattlemen had been taught a lesson. They saw that they would do well to care for the younger and weaker stock during the heaviest part of the winter. Those who stayed with the business in time overcame their losses and many became cattle kings of the State.

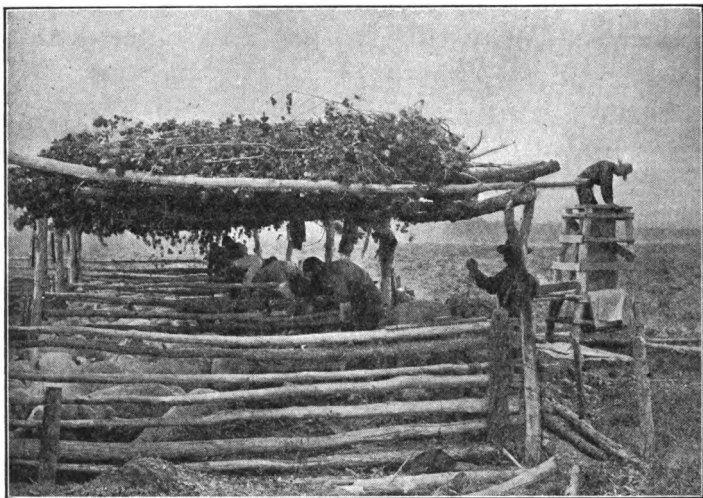
**Sheep.** — On the free range there was often friction between the cattle and sheep owners. "The two kinds of animals cannot graze on the same area. A band of sheep will make a range unfit for cattle and will drive the latter out." Sheep crop the grass short, they leave nothing in their path, everything goes before them, weeds, grass, and small brush. A lane through which a band of sheep has passed looks as though it had been mowed with a scythe. "They leave an odor, too, which cattle cannot endure; the latter will not even water at a spring where a flock of sheep has just watered."

**The first flocks.** — In spite of these drawbacks many people raised sheep, for there was a great deal of money in the business. The first flocks were brought into Montana by the Jesuit missionaries who were teaching the Indians all branches of agriculture. According to one record they were raising sheep as early as 1857. One of the later settlers brought in a flock of five hundred in the summer of 1867. It was driven from the Pacific Coast to the



Prickly Pear Valley in Montana. No provision was made to feed or shelter them through the winter and they all perished. The first failure did not discourage the stockmen but the progress for the first ten years was slow.

**California flocks.**—The original sheep of the



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#### SHEEP SHEARING

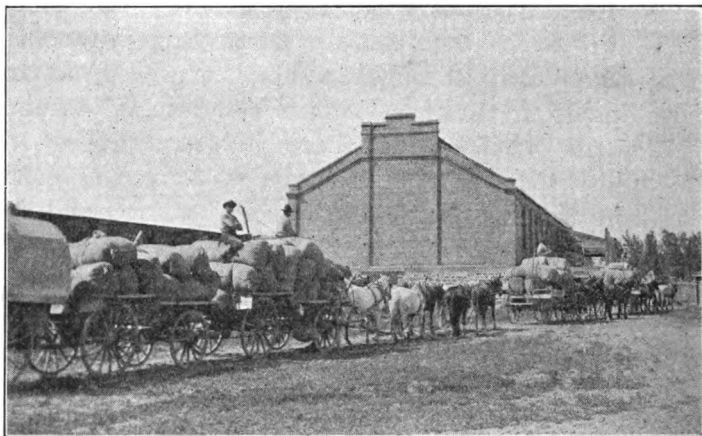
West were Mexican; they were taken into California and there crossed with some brought from China. As California was filled up with settlers, the flocks were driven into neighboring states to pasture, and back again for the shearing. But eventually many of these were driven off for good. In "The Flock," a very readable book on sheep-raising in California, by Mary Austin, we read that "Sanger, when he drove his sheep to Montana in '70, went up like a

patriarch with his family in wagons, his dogs and his herders, his milch cows, his saddle horses, and his sheep in bands. When they came by living springs there they pitched the camp; when they found fresh pastures there they halted." In 1880, T. Clowes Miles, who was for many years a rancher near Silver Bow, brought a band of sheep up to Montana from the San Joaquin Valley in California.

**Montana wool.** — The sheep industry progressed so rapidly that in 1893 Montana was given seventh place in the list of wool producing states, and in 1896 she had more sheep and produced more wool than any other State or Territory. She was also "accredited with raising the best wool of any of the so-called Territory-States, and the grade of flocks was being continuously improved."

**Stock-centers.** — Thus developed the three branches of stock-raising, horses, cattle, and sheep. The valleys of the Missouri River tributaries came into prominence and a number of new towns were built. As the Northern Pacific Railroad ran through almost its whole length the Yellowstone became the most important Valley, and Miles City, Billings, Big Timber, and Livingston developed into stock-centers and shipping points. Bozeman, which was just over the divide from Livingston, was also an important center, but it was not a new town, as the others were. A number of cattlemen who had accumulated wealth on the range made their home in Helena which was also on the main line of the Northern Pacific. In this way Helena became a city of wealth and influence. The Territorial capital was changed

from Virginia City to Helena in 1874, but it was not made the permanent capital until after Montana was made a State.



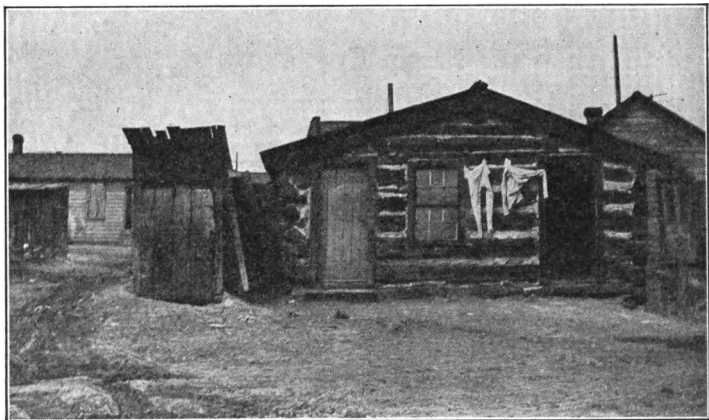
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HAULING WOOL TO THE WAREHOUSE

## 7. DEVELOPMENT OF RICH MINES

**The Butte mines.** — With the increased railroad facilities came the further growth of towns. The old placer fields, with their surrounding country, were well prospected for quartz, and where the leads were found the towns grew up around them, especially where they were on a line of the railroad. At Butte, the Anaconda Mines were proving so rich and extensive, that it was known that there must be many neighboring claims which would be equal to them. In a short time all these neighboring claims were taken up, and the Anaconda Hill was turned

into a large mining area with shaft houses and other mining buildings well covering it. Miners' boarding houses here and there were the only inhabited houses. The ground underneath the surface was honey-combed with tunnels, and there was as much timber underground, holding up the walls of the mines, as there was in all the buildings in the town. The dis-



A MINER'S CABIN IN BUTTE

covery of so many rich mines gave opportunities for the building of smelters, and the twenty years following was an area of great activity in all branches of mining and smelting industries. It was a proud day for Butte when she was proclaimed the greatest mining camp in America.

**Silver mines.** — Philipsburg with her silver mines was a lively camp until the fall in the price of silver, when the mine and mill were closed waiting for better conditions. Neihart, a silver camp near Great

Falls, which is a later discovery than Philipsburg, was not so handicapped, partly because of the quality of the ore and also because other kinds of ore were found in connection with the silver.

**Gold mines.** — The gold quartz mines near Helena were not as fleeting as the placers. They are still rich properties, and the little town of Marysville where they are situated is a thriving place.

### 8. LATER GOVERNORS

**Five governors.** — In the six years following the long administration of Benj. F. Potts, the Territory had five governors. These were J. Schuyler Crosby, B. Platt Carpenter, S. T. Hauser, Preston Leslie, and Benj. F. White. Of these governors Preston Leslie served the longest term, three years. Governor White's term was only from spring until the end of the year, for at that time, 1888, the Territory was made a State and the people had a right then to name their own governor.

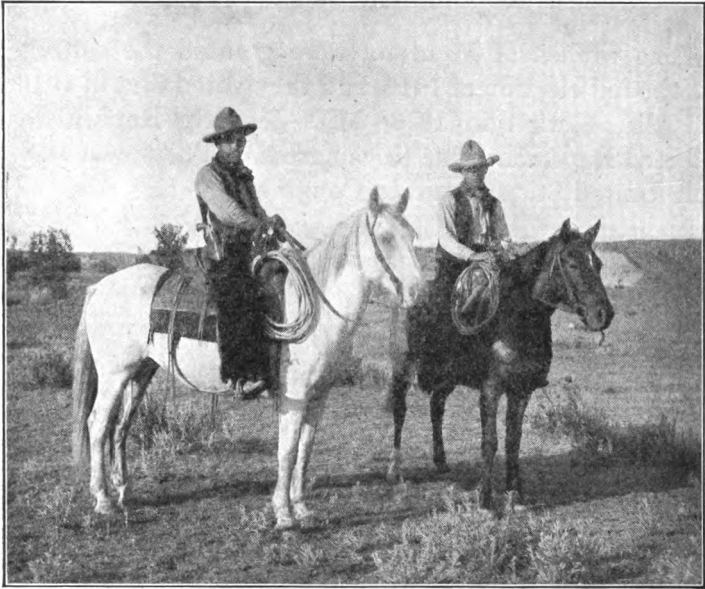
### 9. MONTANA A STATE

**Constitutional Convention.** — When the population of Montana was large enough, the people began to think of having their own State Government. They held a convention in January of 1884, in Helena, and drafted a Constitution. This Constitution was voted upon at the election that year, and the people submitted the Constitution to Congress. It was five years before Congress allowed Montana to become a State.





**Montana a state.**— On the 22nd of February, 1889, the President of the United States signed the Enabling Act, and the Constitutional Convention met again on July 4th, and were in session until August 19th. "The Constitution then framed was



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#### REAL COWBOYS

approved by the people at a special election in October, and on the 8th of November was issued the proclamation recognizing Montana as one of the galaxy of states." (Quotation from Davies' "Civics of Montana.")

**State governors.**— The governors since Montana was made a state have been Joseph K. Toole, John



E. Rickards, Robert B. Smith, Joseph K. Toole for a second and third term, Edwin L. Norris, and Samuel V. Stewart.

Governor Norris was in office during the movement for conservation. He used his best efforts to obtain for Montana every advantage to be gained by the new system.

The women of Montana were granted the suffrage at the fall election of 1914, and they voted first in 1916. At the election in 1916, Miss Jeanette Rankin was elected Representative to Congress, the first woman in the United States to go to Congress.

## PART IX

### TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDIANS

#### 1. TREATIES

**Governor Stevens.**—The wise and friendly talks that Governor Stevens had with the Indians, in those two visits that he made to their country, did a great deal to make the Indians reconciled to the coming of the white men. When we remember how the Montana Indians fought each other and allowed no encroachment upon their territory from even their own race, we may know that they would not have endured the coming of the white men, if they had not been led to look upon the conditions in a more reasonable light. No doubt the security that the Montana people enjoyed and the freedom from massacres and individual attacks was the result of these conferences with Governor Stevens.

**General Meagher and William Hamilton.**—In 1865 another council was held in the Blackfoot country.

This was after Montana had been made a Territory. General Francis Meagher was the acting-governor, in the absence of Governor Edgerton. He went to Fort Benton to talk with the Indians about keeping peace, as they were still having more or less fighting among the tribes. It is hard for a people

who have been so warlike to change suddenly into peaceable, law-abiding tribes. The settlers objected to these battles because they often happened in the part of country through which the miners and freighters had to pass, and the settlers sometimes suffered as much as the Indians did.

This council was held in Fort Benton in September, 1865. The man who was most useful to General Meagher and the commissioners at that time was William T. Hamilton, one of the old trappers who had lived in that part of the country for about fifteen years. He went with an Indian scout, a Piegan, to look up the different tribes, and ask them to come to Fort Benton to the council. In George Bird Grinnell's "Beyond the Old Frontier," we find an account of the trip these two took through the Indian country, and it shows us how cautiously they had to move for fear they might run upon a war party and be killed. It also shows how expert those mountain men were in finding out when there had been Indians in their vicinity, and in being able to dodge around and keep under cover so they would not be discovered by scouts of other parties.

In the account of the council we find the name of Little Dog, the Piegan chief, who was one of the chiefs at the council of 1855. William Hamilton says that Little Dog was the bravest and noblest chief living at that day. He was a friend of the whites, and had killed four of the under chiefs of his tribe for warring against the whites.

The day of the council he again proved himself a friend; for after the council some of the Indians

had bought some whisky and had become quarrelsome. Little Dog was afraid they might harm the whites. Hamilton went around to all the Indian villages camped around the town and warned the chiefs that they must keep their young men quiet; and Little Dog went to all his people and those others that he knew and told them that if they caused any trouble that they would have him to fight. In the end they all calmed down and no one was hurt. The treaty made was as well kept as we could expect at that time. But the tribes were more or less belligerent up to the time that the soldiers arrived in the territory.

## 2. RESERVATIONS

**Their own valleys.** — By the agreement with Governor Stevens the Indians were to keep their own valleys, except when they had to go elsewhere to hunt. The war parties were to be given up. The Flatheads were to be allowed to pass through the Blackfoot country into the Yellowstone without being molested. All the Indians were to have the same homes that they had been having, with the exception of the Flatheads and the Pend d'Oreilles.

**Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles.** — These two tribes occupied the most fertile valleys in Western Montana, and Governor Stevens foresaw that at least one of these valleys would be coveted by farmers before many years were over, and either valley had ample room for both tribes. The Indians themselves could not decide which valley to choose for neither wanted to give up its own valley, although

either tribe would gladly welcome the other. The Indians finally consented to have a survey taken of both valleys and allow the Government to decide which would make the better reservation.



PEND D'OREILLE INDIANS

**The survey postponed.**—Sixteen years passed before this survey was made and in the meantime the Indians became so distrustful of the Government, that when the survey was at last made, and it was deemed advisable for the Flatheads to move to the Jocko Reservation, they refused to go. They had accepted the silence of the Great Father at

Washington as a consent to allow them to remain in the Bitter Root Valley; some of them had productive farms, the mission school and the church had been built, and they were reluctant to give up their home.

In the meantime Victor and Alexander had died, and Charlot and Michelle were the chiefs of the two tribes. This difficulty about the land did not affect Michelle's band, the Pend. d'Oreilles, for they had always lived upon the Jocko and in the Flathead Valley; but it was Charlot's people, the Flatheads proper, who had always lived in the Bitter Root, who were now being forced to go upon the Jocko.

A council with the commissioner. — In 1872 a special commissioner was sent out to come to an agreement with the Flatheads. Charlot, with his sub-chiefs, Arlee and Adolf, and some of the most important men of the tribe, held a consultation with the commissioner, and agreed to go with him to look at the land and see if a suitable place could be found for them. They preferred to be near the mill, and they thought that there was enough available land near the agency. An agreement was drawn up and signed by Arlee and Adolph, but Charlot refused to sign it. It was not his will that his people should go. The commissioner then made a bad mistake. Feeling confident that Charlot would come to terms he proceeded as though he had signed it. When Charlot realized what had been done, he lost faith in the Government. He and a few of his followers refused to leave; the few who went were put in charge of Arlee on the Jocko.

**Charlot goes to the Jocko.** — Finally, after Arlee's death, Charlot went with the remainder of his band. He had had a great deal to do with the whites meanwhile and thus grew to have more faith in the government.

**The Indians usually friendly.** — As long as the settlers stayed in the part of the country away from the tribal homes there was no trouble. But it was hardly possible to stay away altogether, especially from the country of the Crows. The Yellowstone was a large valley and oftentimes it was necessary for the settlers to pass through the valley.

**The Crows.** — Although the Crows were friendly to the whites they had one bad trait which was continually showing itself — even to their friends. They were the biggest thieves of all the Montana Indians, and occasionally when they had stolen horses or other things from travelers there would be trouble, which sometimes ended fatally.

**Hostile Sioux and Cheyennes.** — At other times the Indians met with in the Yellowstone were Sioux and Cheyennes who were hostile to everybody, even the Crows. Oftentimes the Crows were blamed for crimes which were committed by these other Indians. The truth was that the Crows suffered at the hands of these Indian invaders more than the white men did.

**Killing of J. M. Bozeman.** — One dreadful tragedy stirred the people at this time, because the victim was a man who had been active in public works. This man, J. M. Bozeman, had done much for Montana in the earlier days of her existence. He opened up

a wagon road from the States to Montana, through the Yellowstone country. Although the road had to be abandoned later, because of the hostility of the Indians, it had been a great help to emigrants because it had been a much shorter way.

Bozeman and Thomas Coover were camping on the Yellowstone in April of 1867. They were cooking a meal when five Indians came up to their camp. The men, believing them to be Crows, allowed them to come up close, when Coover, who had begun to suspect from their actions their bad intentions, moved toward the river for the horses, to saddle up and be in readiness in case the Indians should prove unfriendly. As he moved off an Indian fired at him, grazing his shoulder. The others, drawing their guns from under the buck-skin covers with which they had been concealed, shot at Bozeman, killing him instantly. Coover escaped into the brush and made his way to the main camp. Bozeman's body was recovered and he had not been scalped. In 1869 his body was taken to Bozeman and buried there, where some years later a monument was erected by Nelson Story, a prominent citizen of that town.

**Settlers in the Yellowstone.**— After the establishment of the military posts, the settlers, inspired with a spirit of confidence, began to think of going into the Yellowstone to take up ranches, but in spite of the military protection, there were still many cases of attacks on individuals. One of these, in which one of our leading men of the eastern part of the state was concerned, proved fatal to some of the party.



We are indebted for the story to Mr. S. L. Moore, General Freight Agent of the Northern Pacific, who heard it from the principal witness, Paul McCormick of Billings. He was one of a party of nineteen who went down into the Yellowstone in 1875 in search of a home. While they were building their stockade they were continually harassed by the Sioux, who carried off most of their horses. One morning McCormick and Edwards went out to locate the Indians before the party started out on their day's search for timber. They were about a mile from the stockade, when they rode into a clump of tall sage-brush. Here they unexpectedly found the object of their search. The Indians opened fire on them and Edwards was shot dead. McCormick escaped. He rode a fine horse and but for that he would never have reached the stockade alive. The horse leaped over the high bushes and jumped ditches with little effort, and the rider kept his seat through it all. When he reached camp the horse fell dead, riddled with shots, while his rider was uninjured, but from that day his hair was white as snow. When the men went to recover Edwards' body the Indians had disappeared. His body was pierced with arrows and bullets and he had been scalped. He was carried to the stockade and buried there. Eight others of the nineteen were eventually killed by the Indians.

**Permanent reservations.**—After the country was permanently settled, the reservations were given certain boundaries, and the tribes were each given the reservation on which they were required to stay,

and on which no white man could intrude without fear of the law. They were segregated as follows:

On the Blackfeet Reservation were the Piegans with a few of the Blackfeet Proper (sometimes called Siksika) and Bloods; on the Fort Belknap were Gros Ventres of the Prairie and Assiniboines; on the Crow were the Crows; on the Jocko were the Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles and Kootenais; and on the Tongue River, a few years later, were the Northern Cheyennes, who were connected with Montana history during the time of the military conflicts with the Sioux, whose allies they were. The Shoshones and Bannacks were on Idaho reservations, and those Blackfeet tribes not on the reservation were in the British possessions.

### 3. SOLDIERS AND INDIANS

Settlers afraid of Indians. — Even though the Montana Indians were quiet, the people were constantly fearing an invasion from the Indians. Like all people when they first went out West, they were very much afraid of the Indians. Indeed many of them had cause to be, for in coming across the plains it was not an unusual event to discover the graves of emigrants who had come to their death at the hands of the hostile Sioux or Cheyennes; and many were the tales they had heard of people whose homes had been surrounded and every one killed, or of parties of prospectors or hunters who had come to their end in the same way. We can imagine how the women and children shivered with fright when an Indian would come to the win-

dow and peer in through the glass, or would come to the door asking for "biscuit," and how they would be terrorized if an Indian should become intoxicated and go yelling through the streets. But compared with the troubles of other western settlements, these Montana pioneers had a very quiet time, for the Montana tribes, as tribes, were friendly to the whites.

After the soldiers came and forts were established the people felt more secure. We have told in the chapter about the soldiers how Major Baker quieted the Blackfeet with very little bloodshed. This showed the people that our Indians were inclined to be peaceable. The presence of the soldiers and forts in the Territory showed the Indians that any violence would be punished and it convinced them that it was good policy to keep peace with the whites.

#### 4. FRIENDLY CHIEFS

**Shoshone chiefs.** — The first white settlements in Montana being in the Shoshone country, these Indians became well known to the people of Virginia City, Bannack, and Deer Lodge. Three of the chiefs especially became well known: they were Old Snag, Tendoy, and Major Jim. Old Snag was the head chief of the Shoshones and Major Jim was a Bannack. The latter was a war chief. Tendoy was always a good friend to the whites. He was wise enough to perceive that the Indian who was friendly to the whites had fewer difficulties with which to contend than had the one who was ever on the war-path. Tendoy made several trips to Washington. It was

his information that supplied the material for the "Indian Sign Language," published by the Government.

**Flathead chiefs.** — Charlot, who died in 1909, was a noted chief among the Flatheads. His was a royal family as both his father and grandfather had been chiefs before him. Stomus, his grandfather, was also known as Three Feathers or Grizzly Bear. At the same time that Stomus was chief of the Flatheads, Hallochs or Bright Coats was chief of the Pend d'Oreilles. These two men were great friends, for the two tribes were closely related. They went hunting together and often were together in battles. Hallochs seemed to have some occult powers which were quite marveled at by the Indians under him. In war times before a battle, he required each of his warriors to go into his lodge and bite a bullet, and with the bullet make a cross on his breast. They believed this would prevent them from being wounded. In nearly every case where one failed to do this he was struck by a bullet. At one time Hallochs was leading a party of his people to hunt the buffalo. They crossed the mountains at the head of the Flathead Lake, and were there warned to go back, as the Blackfeet were near. Hallochs said that he had come to hunt the buffalo, not to fight, and announced his intention of going on. Soon coming near to the Blackfeet camp, they saw that they must prepare for battle, and each bit the bullet to be safe. Two of the young men refused to take the precaution, thinking it was foolishness. These two were the only ones killed in the battle, although the Blackfeet

outnumbered the Flatheads ten to one. The Blackfeet were driven back and the Flatheads went on their way..

When the missionaries came to the Indians, they questioned Hallochs concerning his custom of biting the bullet. He answered them by saying that that was his way of praying; he bit the bullet so that it would not bite him. As to the sign of the cross, one authority states that the Indians of the Columbia River used it in their devotions for many years before the missionaries came to the mountains. It is possible that they learned it from the French fur traders in the early part of the century. Hallochs was given the name of Pierre by the Hudson Bay Company, and was afterward baptized by the Fathers with that name.

Victor was the son of Stomus. He was the chief when the Flatheads were sending delegations to St. Louis in search of missionaries. He is also spoken of by Governor Stevens in his reports to the Government describing his travels in the Rocky Mountain Country. He was much superior to the ordinary Indian. Father DeSmet said that his "dignified bearing would have graced a princely throne."

Alexander, the successor of Hallochs, was Victor's friend and, like Stomus and Hallochs, these two men now led the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles through all their adventures.

Little Dog, the Blackfoot. — In the council of 1855 when Governor Stevens held his council with the Blackfeet, Flatheads, and other tribes; and in 1865 when General Francis Meagher, with the help

of William Hamilton the fur trapper, held the council with the tribes of the Blackfeet, we find the name of Little Dog. He was friendly to the white people and he made his under chiefs keep peace with them.



PAINTED LODGES OF THE BLACKFEET

Any chief who showed hostile feelings was punished with the loss of his life.

Other tribes. — There were, we know, friendly chiefs of other tribes, but their names are not as well known to history. Chiefs of the Shoshone and Flat-head tribes were better known.

## 5. FRANCIS LEUPP AND INDIAN LEGISLATION

The Indian problem of to-day. — Most of the people of the United States long ago stopped worrying about the Indian problem. The Indians were quiet on their reservations, and the people felt that any question which might arise could be settled by Congress without bothering the public. When Francis E. Leupp went into the Indian Service as Commissioner of Indian Affairs he determined to do something to change the Indians into something like the fine men that their ancestors were. He took several ways to bring this about. One was to make the Government realize what a wrong it was to the Indians to allow them to live in idleness. Another was to induce Congress to make new laws which would give them more freedom and require them to be more independent. Another was to stir the Indians up to a desire to be self-supporting. Lastly to awaken the American people to the idea that the Indians were human beings like themselves, to whom they were to extend the hand of fellowship and to assist them to be intelligent citizens and an honor to their ancestors.

Condition of the Indians. — In his book on "The Indian and His Problems," Mr. Leupp tells us how he worked out some of his schemes and how successful they were. He also tells of the present condition of the Indians, which is a revelation even to many who think they know a good deal about the Indians. Many of us have felt that this land of ours was by rights the property of the Indians and it was no

more than just that we should pay them for it, and as we had killed off their game and settled along the streams where they had been accustomed to fish and gather berries, it was right that we should give them food in return for these. Many did not realize that while originally the Indians had the game and fish and berries yet they had to work hard to make them suitable for their use, and when we give them in place of these, meat and flour and other food stuffs that are already prepared, we are, instead of helping the Indians, making loafers of them. As Mr. Leupp says: "Nothing was demanded of the Indians in return except that they obey their agents and keep quiet. It is true that salaried farmers were sent to their reservations to instruct them in agriculture and that tools and fencing were offered them as rewards for industry; but what was gained by being industrious if one could live on the fat of the lands without stirring a muscle in labor? Satan's proverbial gift for finding mischief for idle hands to do came promptly into play, and the idle hands of the Indians soon learned to reach for the whisky bottle. Hence came it that a people once vigorous, strong-willed, untiring on the trail of anything they wanted, became debauched by a compulsory life of sloth, and within a single generation acquired among the whites a reputation for laziness, incompetence and general degradation."

**Results of civilization.** — Civilizing the Indians has seemed a hopeless task. Many of the younger ones who were sent away from home to be educated returned to their blankets and tepees and took up



the old life, and rather than face the ridicule of the older or uneducated ones, tried in every way to forget all they knew about civilization. But there were many others who started new lives apart from their old tribes; these, who more readily accepted civilization, encouraged the Government and the



THE RISING GENERATION

missionaries to keep on trying in the hope that eventually "the continuous dropping would wear away the stone." Now they begin to see the fruits of their labors. It only needs patience to at last bring all the Indians into their full citizenship.

**Legislation.** — Congress has tried at different times to better the condition of the Indians by making good laws. These laws as time passed have had to be changed, for the best plans often were not best

for the Indians. They now have a law which so far has proved successful. It is called the Burke Amendment to the Dawes Act, and it allows the allotting of lands in severalty. This means that instead of the reservations being owned by the tribes as tribes, it is now divided up into portions and each Indian as an individual has his own share of land. For a certain length of time each Indian must be under the care and supervision of the Government, until he can prove that he is capable of managing his own affairs. Before the amendment was made each Indian had to wait for a session of Congress before he could prove himself able to manage his own lands, but now, since the amendment, the point can be decided by the Secretary of the Interior and save a good deal of time for the Indian. As soon as the Secretary of the Interior thinks he is capable he can vote, and is considered a regular citizen of the United States.

**The surplus land.** — When it was decided to open up the reservations the Indians were given the first choice of their lands. Every Indian, man, woman and child, was given as much land as he or she would ever be able to take care of. The reservations were so large that after all the Indians had had their allotments made there was a great deal of surplus land. This land was thrown open to the general public and for a while there was a good deal of excitement over the opportunity to take up such good land.

**Indians at work.** — One great difficulty in the Indian question is the fact that all Indians do not

care to farm. A good many of them do better work in other fields of labor. The Crows have become interested in farming through their annual agricultural fair, the Assiniboinés make good hay and the Blackfeet have been successful at stock-raising, but at the same time these Indians have taken so well to general work of other kinds, that the men in charge of Indian affairs have wondered if perhaps they have not made a mistake in trying to make farmers of all the Indians.

## 6. INDIAN FARMERS

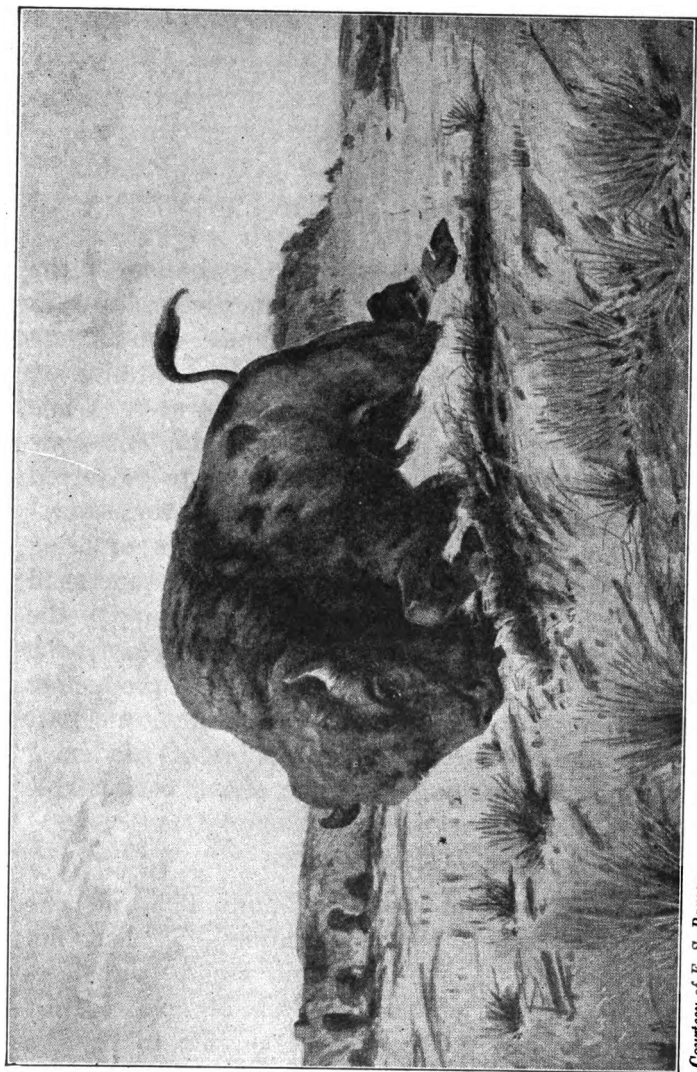
**Resent the new life.**—All the Indians at first, and even now many of them, resented our endeavors to teach them the ways of civilization. “They wanted nothing to do with our civilization, they clung to the way of their ancestors, insisting that they were better than ours.” But now they are beginning to change. Most of them realize that they must adopt our ways if there is to be any peace, and many of them are beginning to see the actual advantage in the new way of life.

**Indian farmers.**—Some of the Indians are turning their reservations into farming communities. The greater part of the new farms in the Flathead country are the property of Indians, and the Crows have taken a great interest in the, to them, new industry. The Crows have always been fond of horses, too fond of them in the early days when horse-stealing was the custom. It has been natural for this liking to turn to stock-raising.

**The Crows' annual fair.** — The Crows' Agent, a few years ago, decided to try a plan to get them interested in farming. He suggested that they have a Wild West Show for their own amusement. The plan was carried out and they had a gala time for two or three years. Then he suggested that they have a few agricultural exhibits with it; this too, they did, and the few who had raised the crops aroused the interest of the others, and then there started a little friendly rivalry, which grew every year until now the agricultural exhibit is the attraction of the fair, and the horse-racing is in the background. No gambling or drinking is allowed, but all go to have a good time and see which is the best farmer. The Indians not only raised the exhibits but they sold the tickets, arranged the exhibits, attended to the grounds and buildings, collected the fees for selling privileges, and managed the refreshment stands and lunch counters. They also held the offices of the Fair; the President, Secretary and Treasurer, Judges, Policemen, and Gate-keepers. Francis Leupp tells us that "It is interesting to note that no rations have been issued to the Crows since the inauguration of these fairs — not a single ration in four years. There is less wandering about and more interest in home, garden and farm. A spirit of rivalry and friendly competition easily takes root in every Indian's natural keenness for sport and this is fostered by the annual fair."

**Their only safeguard.** — The Indians are following the right path in working their lands, for it is the only means whereby they will always have them

for their own. Any good agricultural land that is unworked is bound to be coveted sooner or later by the white men. When the white men see that the Indians are really making the best use of the land then they will give up all thought of having it for themselves.



*Courtesy of E. S. Paxson*

## THE LAST OF THE BUFFALOES

## PART X

### NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN MONTANA

**Three great questions.** — With the coming of the Twentieth Century three great questions arose to occupy the thoughts of Eastern people. These were forestry, the irrigation of arid lands, and farming on lands which could never be reached by water. While these questions all vitally interested Montana they were really national problems too great to be solved by one state alone. The development of these questions has only begun. It may take years to bring them to their greatest power. When that time shall arrive there will be lumber enough to supply the needs of future generations as well as our own; the ranches on the bench lands will be as productive as those in the valleys; and there will be no part of the state that will not be capable of producing good crops, and earning for some one a comfortable living.

#### 1. IRRIGATION

**Bottom lands first used.** — Before 1890 no one had thought much about irrigation. It had not been necessary. People had come west to the states known as the arid states in search of gold. Many of them had had no thought of staying to make a home. Those who did stay found plenty of land

which was easy to irrigate, in the bottom lands along the rivers. The bench lands were used for stock-grazing.

**First need of irrigation.** — After a few years people began to see the opportunity of the West, and when they came and took up lands it was necessary for them to go up on the bench lands. Larger and more expensive ditches then had to be made, and it was necessary for whole neighborhoods to combine, or form some company with capital, in order to build the larger ditches.

**The western problem.** — A greater problem, in the course of time, confronted the settlers. Some of the rivers flow in deep valleys far below the level of the surrounding plains, and, in order to put water upon these higher plains, which contain by far the largest area of arable land, it was necessary to divert the streams from far up the valleys. This required an outlay of capital beyond that of any company willing to invest in such propositions.

**Major J. W. Powell.** — One of the engineers of the War Department, Major J. W. Powell, studied this problem of the western people and decided that the Government alone was able to handle it. He wrote a report, showing how it would be possible for the Government to do it. Reports sometimes are very uninteresting but this one was an exception. One writer has said that it is "one of those rare public documents which become classic literature."

**United States Geological Survey.** — This report, which was entitled "Lands of the Arid Regions," caused Congress to authorize him to study the sub-



ject still more, so that he could tell them to what extent it was possible to reclaim the arid lands by irrigation. At first his work was carried on under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, and later under the Department of the Interior. His particular department was known as the "United States Geological Survey." Under Major Powell's direction the public lands were classified, the streams measured and mapped, reservoir sites were discovered and explored and all the physical features of the arid region were noticed and reported upon. Complete maps were made which showed every detail, — the elevations above sea-level, the locations of all streams, however small, — as well as the towns, roads and trails, railroads, canals, boundaries of states and counties.

**William E. Smythe.** — While the survey was going on the movement was being pushed in another way. William E. Smythe, assistant editor of the *Omaha Bee*, was deeply interested and he tried to bring the matter before the public in order to get them to consider it seriously. He wrote article after article and then started a new magazine called "The Irrigation Age," and was instrumental in forming the "National Irrigation Congress." He was encouraged in this work by men of prominence in the Geological Survey.

**Hiram M. Chittenden.** — In 1897 the people interested in irrigation were glad to have the help of another distinguished engineer of the War Department. This was Major H. M. Chittenden who wrote a report entitled "Reservoirs in the Arid

Regions." This was a great help, for the plans that he gave were practical ones.

**Legislation for irrigation.** — After a few years the people of the United States were awakened to the fact that irrigation was a practical thing, and that Congress might pass laws which could provide for the reclamation of all the desert land of the far West. It was natural that a bill providing for such laws should be introduced by a Nevada senator. This man was Francis G. Newlands, and the measure that he introduced into Congress was called the "Newlands Bill."

**The Newlands Bill.** — This measure recommended that whenever any lands were sold by the Government to the people taking up homesteads or other public lands, the receipts for these sales should be put aside into a fund called the "Reclamation Fund," and this money should be used by the Government to build irrigation works and for no other purpose. After these works were built the settlers who bought land in those parts that had been irrigated paid extra for their land, enough to cover the cost of the irrigating in proportion to the amount of land that they bought. This money that they paid back was to be used again for some other irrigation project, and again and again, until all lands in the United States that need it shall eventually be irrigated. This arrangement means that the settlers really build the irrigation projects; the Government only advances the money without interest, and gives the settlers time to pay for it.

**Cost of water rights.** — The cost of each project is divided by the number of acres that it irrigates,

and whatever that amount is, is added to the \$1.25 per acre which the settler has to pay for his land in the first place. No one is allowed to pay water right for more than 160 acres in any one project. In the case of large landholders like the Northern Pacific Railway Company, who have such an extensive amount of land in Montana, they also could buy water for only 160 acres. In their case it was necessary for them to divide their land up into small tracts and sell them for farms.

**The Reclamation Service.** — The department which was to have charge of this fund was to be known as the Reclamation Service. This really was a continuation of the work done by the United States Geological Survey. Frederick H. Newell, who had succeeded Major Powell at the head of the Geological Survey, was made the head of the Reclamation Service. "Mr. Newell stepped into this place familiar with every detail of a work in which for years he had been the leading spirit." Work was at once begun and before a year had passed examinations and surveys had been made and official approval been given to five projects in the West. One of these was the Milk River Project in Montana. The work was continued still further in Montana and several projects were investigated to find their probable suitability. A selection was then made of those considered most desirable, and work was begun on six in addition to the Milk River Project. These are the Huntley, the Lower Yellowstone, the Sun River, the Fort Peck, the Blackfeet, and the Flat-head Projects.

**The Milk River Project.**—This is the largest project yet undertaken by the Reclamation Service in Montana. It is such an extensive proposition that four years were spent in surveying and other preliminary work before any of the construction was begun. It is at the present time far from being completed.

The Milk River is, next to the Yellowstone, the longest branch of the Missouri in Montana. It rises near the St. Mary's Lakes, in Teton County. It flows at first north, running for a part of its course through Canada, entering Montana again in the northwestern part of Chouteau County and runs in a southeastern direction to the Missouri River. The Milk River at the present time does not contain sufficient water to irrigate the full length of the valley, in fact a part of the year it contains practically no water at all.

The plan is to make a reservoir of the St. Mary's Lakes by building a dam at the foot of the lower lake, which will store all the extra water that usually runs away in the spring with the melting of the snows. This supply of water is to be increased by diverting into it the waters of the Swift Current Creek and the Red Eagle Lakes.

From this reservoir a canal is to be built which will extend for twenty-eight miles in a northeast and east direction and run into the north fork of the Milk River. When the river enters Montana again this extra water is to be used to irrigate the land on both sides of the Milk River from Chinook to Glasgow.

When the project was first considered the Government anticipated that there would be some trouble with Canada because of the waters taken from St. Mary's Lakes and for fear that after we had built these works our waters would be used in the passage through Canada.

**Treaty with Canada.**—After ten years of debate and consideration of the subject a treaty was entered into between the two countries in which Canada agreed to allow our waters safe passage through their country and we agreed to take only the flood waters (those that go to waste in the spring with the melting of the snows) of St. Mary's Lakes, and any waters from streams that we could turn into the reservoir. This was an important matter to Canada too, because we could take all the waters from the St. Mary's Lakes and divert them entirely into our own streams if we would, and that would take away the main supply of their St. Mary's River which flows northeastward into Hudson's Bay.

**Diversion and storage dams.**—The work on the St. Mary's Reservoir and the canal to the Milk River is only one part of the project. After the river enters Montana again there is still a large amount of work to be done. Dams are to be built across the river at Chinook, Dodson, and Vandalia. These are called diversion dams for they take the water from the river and divert it into ditches that carry the water to the land to be irrigated. A storage dam is to be built fourteen miles northeast of Malta on the south side of the river. This is to be called the Nelson Reservoir. It collects the flood, or spring

water, and holds it until later in the summer when the water in the river is low.

Altogether the project is a stupendous one and only a small percentage of it has been completed.

**Sun River Project.** — Another difficult project is that of the Sun River. Although there are no international questions to be settled, there is the same difficulty with costly reservoirs and canals. The soil is sandy and easily washed away so that it is necessary to build concrete linings to all the large ditches.

**Huntley and Lower Yellowstone Projects.** — The projects of Huntley and the Lower Yellowstone are much simpler, for all that is necessary there is to divert the water from the Yellowstone.

A great deal of land in the Huntley and Lower Yellowstone Projects has been opened for settlement, and wonderful crops of grain, alfalfa and sugar beets have been grown. The beet sugar factory at Billings makes the raising of sugar beets a desirable industry, and a lucrative one. The Yellowstone Valley is favorable for alfalfa and an irrigated field has to be planted only once; each year the farmer's only work is to irrigate and reap his harvest.

**Reservation Projects.** — The Fort Peck, the Blackfoot, and the Flathead Projects are all on Indian reservations and will irrigate large tracts of valuable farm lands.

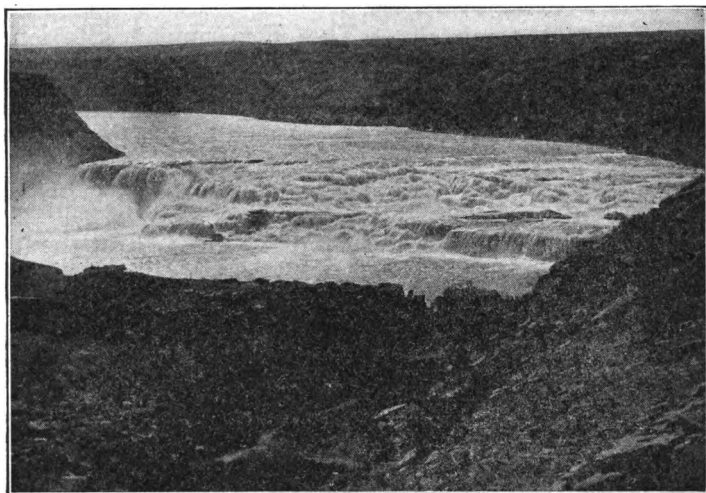
## 2. DRY-LAND FARMING

**Dry farming.** — Dry farming, of which we have heard so much in the last few years, is only another name for scientific farming on dry lands. We have

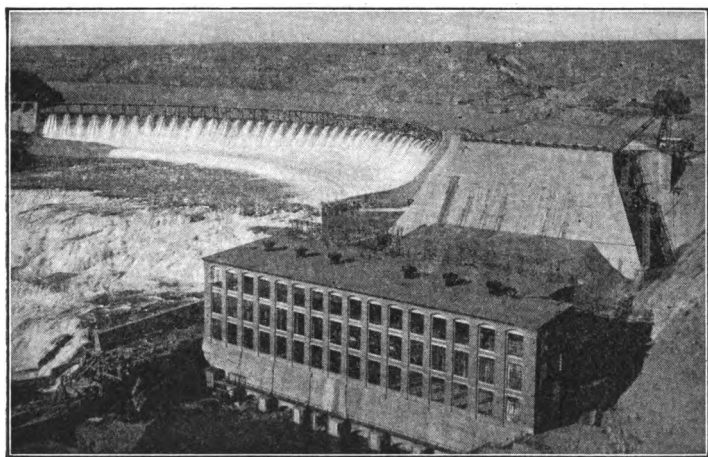
heard of marvelous yields on dry farms, and in order to understand why these yields are possible, and also to expect the same yields from all dry farms, it is advisable for us to study the science of this system as it has been explained to us by the men in charge of the Montana Agricultural College Experiment Station in Bozeman.

The men who have been most active in the study of scientific farming are F. B. Linfield, the Director of the Station, and Alfred Atkinson, the Agronomist, or scientific farmer. The Bulletins of the Experimental Station give a full description of the system as they now understand it, and reports of the success of the work in different parts of the State.

**Dry Land System Discovered.** — There are from twelve to fifteen million acres in the State which it will be impossible to irrigate because they lie above the highest ditches. When the farmers found that this land was not able to produce growing crops, they were satisfied to leave it for the grazing of stock until they heard that one man in Nebraska had discovered how to store up in the soil all the moisture that falls throughout the year. This discovery was a great boon to Montana for in many parts of the State the annual rainfall is sufficient to grow luxuriant crops, but a great deal of this rainfall is lost through evaporation. This Nebraska man was H. W. Campbell. He was not the first one to discover the system of storing the rainfall, but he invented the implements to farm the land under this system. His investigations were taken up throughout the West, and Montana farmers also tried it with marvelous results.



**THE GREAT FALLS OF THE MISSOURI IN ITS NATURAL STATE**



**THE GREAT FALLS OF THE MISSOURI ON THE COMPLETION OF THE  
POWER DEVELOPMENT**



**The annual rainfall.**—The Experiment Station has instruments which measure the amount of rainfall. In keeping records of rain, they can tell just how much has fallen every year and at what time of the year it has come. In some of the western states the greatest amount of rainfall is in the winter, in some the amount is evenly distributed throughout the year, but in Montana the greatest amount is in the growing months, April, May, June, and July.

In order to understand why Montana has not enough moisture we must remember that a great deal of it is lost through evaporation. "Summer evaporation may amount to three inches a week and the whole year's precipitation be evaporated in one or two months."

The principle of dry farming is to check this evaporation and store all the moisture where it will be within the reach of the growing plants.

**Conserving the moisture.**—The method discovered by Campbell is to plow deep, in order to break up all hard pieces of ground; then pack this plowed ground down firmly so that the moisture in the ground can have a soil ladder on which to climb up to the plant roots; and then harrow over the top of the ground so that the top of the soil will be loose and rough, to easily dry out, thereby stopping the rising of moisture from below and preventing evaporation. This top layer is called a mulch and it does not take up the water from below for the same reason that a dry sponge will not as quickly absorb moisture as a damp one will. The mulch being loose, the rains by gravitation sink into the more closely packed

ground below. Thus the water is taken in and cannot escape.

All ground has a layer of water beneath it. In some soils it is only a few inches from the surface, in others it is several feet below. The water rises from this moisture bed by capillary attraction, spreading as it rises in all directions, surrounding the roots of the plants on all sides. It would be impossible for this water to rise or to spread from side to side unless the particles were in close contact, forming a continuous ladder of particles on which the moisture could move. "If any condition was brought about so that the moisture ladder was broken, the rise could not go on." "The movement of water through a thoroughly dry soil is not as rapid as through the same soil when wet." In fact it has been proven that water will rise nearly four times as fast in a moist soil as in a perfectly dry one.

**Dry farming a success in Montana.**— Since 1905 the Montana Experiment Station has been using dry farming methods in various parts of the State. They have been assisted by the United States Department of Agriculture and by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railways in a financial way. The Northern Pacific appropriates \$2,500 a year, and the Great Northern \$2,000 a year. They have also been assisted by local people in the neighborhood of the sub-stations. In some places the stations were so far from settlers that men and teams had to be hired and farm equipment purchased to carry on the experiments.

They are investigating the farming possibilities of

the non-irrigated lands to determine what crops and what methods of cultivation will give best results. Several demonstration farms or sub-experiment stations were established at first and their number has grown to fourteen. These demonstration farms are in widely separated parts of the State, and are located on lands typical of large areas that have not been cultivated, and the results achieved show what other land in the same neighborhood, where conditions of soil and climate are similar, will produce when properly cultivated.

Although the Experiment Stations have done the most extended work, they were not pioneers in dry farming in Montana. Several individual farmers had taken it up when the system was first made known.

While they have proven that dry farming is a success in Montana these men all realize that the system is still in the experimental state. There are several points that they do not yet understand. There is the possibility that the system may be used in the future in localities where now it seems impossible. Indeed, it is now supposed that crops may be grown, sometime in the future, in any locality where now the natural vegetation can thrive.

### 3. FORESTRY

**Forestry.** — Many people have a prejudiced way of looking upon forestry. They think that the Government has taken the forest lands away from us, and we can use neither the land nor the trees, but if we look into the matter we will understand

that the forest reserves are great farms which are being profitably worked for the people by the Government, the people having the advantage of the crops. Like the irrigation projects, the raising of the crops of a forest is too stupendous and expensive an undertaking for even large companies to consider; it must be done by the Government, for a crop sometimes takes a hundred years to ripen.

**Forestry and irrigation.**—Forestry and irrigation go hand in hand in the agricultural development of the West. Almost every irrigation project now under consideration depends upon the proper protection of the forests on the mountains above the water supply. These irrigation works are being built for our children and grandchildren as well as for ourselves and if they are to be preserved in their best condition we must first solve the question of how best to protect the forests and increase them, for the forests lie above the reservoirs and hold the moisture like a great sponge and allow the water to flow gradually down into the reservoirs.

This is not a matter which concerns our own State alone. We must build reservoirs and conserve Montana forests to benefit the arid plains of the Dakotas and Nebraska, for those states depend partly for the flow of their rivers upon the proper treatment of the woodlands on the mountains in Montana.

**History of forestry.**—We cannot perfectly understand the history of forestry in our own State until we study the conditions that led up to the formation of our National Forests. When people first settled

in the United States there was an abundance of wood for everybody. In fact there was so much that the people were careless; they used whatever they wanted for themselves with no thought for their children and grandchildren. Choice woods were used for firewood and fence rails; as a consequence we have had to learn to be satisfied with the inferior woods for house finishing and for furniture.

**G. P. Marsh.**—The first person to try to make the people realize the importance of caring for their forests was G. P. Marsh of Vermont, a man who had held diplomatic positions in Europe. He was impressed with the way the foreign countries took care of their forests. In 1864 he called the attention of the American people to their wasteful ways and pointed out to them the good effect that the proper care of the forests would have upon the flow of streams, our commerce, and other national conditions. This was the first suggestion that any one had made toward the making of laws to protect the forests.

**Arbor Day.**—Another movement which has had a tremendous effect was the establishment of Arbor Day. "It was the happy thought of a pioneer settler on the treeless plains of Nebraska. By his effort Arbor Day was adopted in his State, and on the first Arbor Day more than one million trees were planted. Since that time more than one billion trees have been planted in Nebraska. Once it was almost treeless. Now it is a state with millions of young growing trees, due almost wholly to the Arbor Day planting, started by the Hon. J. Sterling Morton in 1872."

**Timber Culture Act.** — One of the first steps in forest legislation was what was called the Timber Culture Act. By this Act a settler was released from some of the requirements of homesteading by planting on his claim a certain number of acres of forest trees. This was not altogether satisfactory because it takes so many years for a tree to mature and be useful for mercantile purposes, that it meant the giving up of these acres for the entire life of one man.

**Forest Reserves and National Forests.** — In 1891 the law was changed to an act creating Forest Reserves. This was not satisfactory so the law was changed again in 1897. This time it was called a Proclamation of National Forests.

There is a difference between a Forest Reserve and a National Forest. The first is merely reserved for future use and the other is for present use, but a restricted one, in which only the merchantable trees are sold, and the "young stand" is allowed to grow until it matures sufficiently. Many people do not understand the difference that the law of 1897 made in the history of the movement, so that there is still a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed about the large areas kept in the National Forests.

**Extent of Montana forests.** — Montana is now one of the largest of the forest growing states. So much of the land is given over to the National Forests that it is well for every citizen to know what a great work the Forestry Service is striving to do. In the western part of the State it is easier to pick out the lands which are not forests; looking at the other side of the range, the forests are the exception. The east-

ern part of the State is one great open plain with few trees. A great deal of the forest land is privately owned and some of it belongs to the State.

**The care of the forest.**—In order to have a well kept forest there must be a great number of men in the service to patrol the forest and watch for fires; to keep the roadways open; to survey the land and measure the trees large enough to have commercial value, and mark these for sale; to plant new trees and care for the young ones already planted; to study the kinds of timbers and determine which are the best for certain localities; and to find a market for those ready to be cut. Then, too, fences have to be built to keep the grazing stock from the young trees and trails made so that the rangers can easily reach any part of the forest.

**Forest fires.**—We used to look upon forest fires as something which could not be avoided, but the foresters have taught us that fires in a forest may be controlled just as fires in town may be; but there must be just the same amount of fire apparatus in the forest that there is in the town, though it is of a different kind. There must be watchmen, who are called patrols; and telephones and roads or trails all through the forest. You can imagine how difficult it would be for men to go quickly through the woods if there were no trails through the fallen timber and thick underbrush.

There are times during particularly dry seasons when nothing can be done to stop a fire when it is once started. At those times it is the business of the patrols to see that no fires get started. It takes

a lot of vigilance, for campers in the woods are careless, and sparks from engines are dangerous.

During the summer of 1910 the most disastrous fires in the history of the forestry service occurred throughout the Northwest. The following description of that dreadful time is taken from the report of the State Forester. "Throughout the West the winter snowfall and spring rains were unusually light, so that with the oncoming of summer the supply of surface moisture rapidly dried away, and an abnormal and steadily increasing number of fires followed. Through the summer the conditions of drought grew worse and worse, until in parts of the Northwest they became the most severe within the period of Weather Bureau records. Steady high winds were combined with almost complete failure of the light summer precipitation, which usually mitigates the severity of summer droughts in the mountains. By the middle of August the Forest Service was straining every resource to hold in check, with a force entirely inadequate to the work, the multiplying fires. Out of this situation there developed a national disaster. From the Pacific Coast region eastward to central Montana the forests of the Northwest seemed suddenly to burst into flames. Fierce winds attained, in Northern Idaho and Western Montana, hurricane proportions. The scattered fires were driven together and lashed into fury, until they forced to shelter (where shelter could be found) the scattered bands of fire fighters. Within a few days' time the National Forests suffered losses which surpassed the total inflicted by all the fires



of former years since Government protection of the forests began." He further says that "These terrible fires (when over seventy-five men lost their lives) exerted an influence which it would be hard to over-estimate, for they were the means of awakening public sentiment and creating a realization of the fire danger and the possibility of keeping it down."

**A fire association.**—In 1911 the State Forester was instrumental in starting an association to fight the fire hazard. This was a combination of State, Federal, and private interests. Together they appropriated enough to put thirty-six patrolmen in the field. This was but a beginning as only about five per cent of the forests in the State was covered. This is good work because it is interesting the private holders in the principles of forestry, and it is hoped will lead to better legislation for our State Forests.

**The nursery of the Helena forest.**—In the Helena National Forest there is, near Boulder, a nursery for the planting of young trees. These trees are grown from seed planted in beds with removable covers. The seed beds are kept well weeded and cultivated and at the end of a year the trees are most of them about an inch high. They are then transplanted into open beds. There is an apparatus for putting them into the transplant bed which plants a long row at one time. At the end of the second year the trees have grown another inch or two, and are ready to be planted in the forest.

The Forest Supervisor is experimenting with many different varieties of pine and other species suitable

to this climate. He has even planted some Sequoia. Our descendants a thousand years or more from now will be able to tell whether the Montana climate will be able to produce as large a variety as the California climate has.

**Value of the forest.** — We can imagine what a blessing the forest was to the early prospectors and settlers in Montana. The first need the prospectors had was for wood to build their sluice boxes, logs for their houses, and for fuel. The little furniture they had was made on the spot, so we are not surprised to learn that the first industry after mining was saw-milling.

At the present time the new settlers who have taken up farms near the forest have a great advantage over those who live out on the open plain. The National Forests allow settlers to have all the wood that they want for their own use but if they want it for commercial purposes they must pay for it. They also can build their schoolhouses in the forest, and any other buildings if they comply with the forest regulations. Furthermore they can graze their stock there if they have the proper permit. Those who have large herds must pay for the privilege. The proceeds go toward the receipts of the forest.

One-fourth of all the receipts of the forests are given to the State to be used for schools and the building of roads. This is distributed by the State Treasurer to the counties in proportion to the area of forest land in each county. One-tenth of all the receipts is spent for the building of roads through forest land. Only sixty-five per cent of the gross

proceeds of the forest are left for the forest expenses, and it does not half pay them.

Before any outside timber sales are made or any large grazing permits are granted, the forester must make sure that the local demand is satisfied first, not only the present demand, but what is likely to be needed in future years. No grazing permits will be granted where the forest could be injured by it, such as on steep hillsides where the trails of the stock might cause deep gullies which would eventually cause the washing away of the forest covering.

We can see that by all of these means the Government is striving to make the forests useful to the people.

## CONCLUSION

**Montana a treasure state.**— In every period of its history Montana has been a treasure state. To the Indians it was a hunter's Paradise; to the fur traders, a store-house of valuable furs; to the prospectors, a land with fabulous wealth of minerals; to the stockmen, vast fields of luxuriant grasses; to the lumbermen, millions of feet of valuable timber; and to the farmer a land of fruit and grain which promises to yield rich harvests as long as there are workers to till the soil.

**An agricultural state.**— Three things have made it possible for Montana to develop into an agricultural state. These are irrigation, scientific farming, and the building of new railroads.

**The Milwaukee road.**— The greatest event in the history of Montana since the discovery of rich mines was the opening up of the Judith and Mussel-shell Valleys by the building of the Milwaukee railroad.

**The Judith Basin.**— The Judith Basin has for many years been known as the stockman's paradise. Of late it has been developing into the farmer's paradise. This has not come as a surprise to the Montana people. We all knew that it was only the distance from the railroad that was keeping this most fertile valley of Montana in the background. Agri-

culture and stock-raising have not been the only attractions of this section of the country. Mining too, has flourished, and from there our famous Montana sapphires have come.

**The Musselshell Valley.** — Not only the Judith Basin but almost the whole of the Musselshell Valley was changed from a vast cattle range to a country of farms and prosperous towns. The Milwaukee follows the Musselshell River from its utmost source to the point where the river turns north. The farmers in this section used to take their products — which were cattle and wool — to Billings, a distance of sixty miles. They did not object to the long drive for they were not worrying about the country not being developed. They knew as soon as the railroad came in that they would have to turn their stock ranches over to the farmers. When this time finally came there were those who predicted that the country would never again be as prosperous as it had been.

**The Milwaukee towns.** — Since the Milwaukee was built we begin to be familiar with the names of Roundup, Two Dot, Musselshell, and Three Forks; and we hear a great deal more about Lewistown, Miles City, Deer Lodge, and Missoula than we did before. Two Dot takes its name from a man who had a stock farm in the early days where the town is now. Every one called him Two Dot Wilson, because the brand for his cattle was two dots . . Roundup was the name of a stage station. It was a stopping place in stock-raising days for all travelers bound to or from Billings. So also was Mussel-

shell. This was the oldest town in the Valley. It was never a large place, but the stockmen could get a few supplies there without going all the way to Billings. Three Forks is the very oldest settlement in Montana. This honor has been claimed by other towns in Montana such as Fort Union, Fort Benton, Bannack, Stevensville, but Three Forks had people living there as early as 1808. Manuel Lisa had a post at the mouth of the Big Horn a short time before but the Three Forks Post was the first one that was expected to be permanent. Those of us who have been interested in the history of Montana are glad to know that the old site is to be permanently settled at last, and that the interesting places in the vicinity are to have proper markings.

**The new farms.**—These are some of the new towns, but the new farms are developing into towns and we hear of settlements far to the north, as far from the Milwaukee as those of the Mussel-shell used to be from Billings. The Great Northern is now building a branch line which will run between the Great Northern and the Milwaukee. There is plenty of room here, for the whole length of the Missouri Valley from the mouth of the Milk River to the Marias has not yet heard the toot of a whistle since the days of the old steamboats.

**Branch lines.**—A few branch lines have been built which have been a help to different parts of the State. These are the continuation of the Burlington from Billings which connect with the Great Northern at Great Falls; a line up the Big Muddy Creek from the Great Northern near the Dakota

boundary; and a line from Lewistown to Great Falls which makes it possible for passengers from Lewistown to connect with Great Northern points. A line from Armstead south of Dillon into the Salmon River country in Idaho now saves the long stage ride and heavy teaming that used to be necessary.

**The railroads a bureau of publicity.** — The railroads have done more than build new lines. As we have shown in the chapter on dry farming, they have contributed toward the maintaining of Agricultural Experiment Stations and they have extensively advertised the country by leaflets and books. They also have been running homeseekers' excursions from the Eastern States for several years. In this publicity campaign the Great Northern leads. Because of his great interest in the State, James J. Hill's name is famous all over the United States. He has been a friend to conservation.

**Scientific farming.** — The railroads were necessary for the development of these valleys, but the scientific farming had made farming possible on the highest benches; land which before was valuable only as pasture land — no matter how close the railroad might run — now is yielding grain and vegetables, and even fruit.

## TITLES FOR COMPOSITION AND ORIGINAL RESEARCH

1. Kamas Prairie, the meeting place of Indians and fur traders.
2. Stories of the old trappers.
3. Yankee Jim, the trapper and guide.
4. Angus McDonald and his son Duncan.
5. What Audubon wrote about Fort Union and the people living there.
6. Ignace Saxe, an Iroquois among the Flatheads.
7. Indian remains in the Bitter Root Valley.
8. The first location of St. Ignatius Mission.
9. Major Alexander Culbertson and his family.
10. Journeys of Manuel Lisa to Montana, taken from the journals of early explorers.
11. The Chouteau family, the St. Louis fur traders.
12. Gen. William H. Ashley and his fur-trading enterprises.
13. The Green River rendezvous.
14. Life of Kenneth McKenzie.
15. Hudson Bay Company trappers in Montana.
16. Stories of Indian chiefs of different tribes, giving consecutive lists as far as possible.
17. Boats used by the Indians.
18. What the buffalo meant to the Indians.
19. What difference did the acquisition of guns and horses make in the life of the Indians?
20. Of what material did the Montana Indians make their arrowheads and where and how was it obtained?
21. Legends, tales, and folk-lore of Montana tribes.
22. Methods of transportation by land and water of Indians, fur traders, and explorers.
23. Freightage before the railroad was built, including description of wagons, animals used, and roads.
24. Have any prehistoric remains been found in Montana?
25. The passes over the mountains.
26. A trip up the Missouri on a steamboat.
27. The Bozeman Road.



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28. Up the Missouri River from Fort Union to Great Falls by motor boat, noting the spots mentioned in the journals of the early travelers.
29. Roads and trails: The Bozeman Trail, the Mullan Road, Bridger Trail, Fiske Route, Corinne Wagon Road.
30. Father DeSmet's route in going to Fort Colville from the Bitter Root.
31. The council of 1855, with the events and conditions leading up to it, as described in the life of Governor I. I. Stevens.
32. The story of the old mining camp of Pioneer.
33. Cantonment Stevens, the purpose for which it was built, its site and present remains.
34. History of mining in Montana.
35. Who built the first quartz mills and for what mines?
36. How the earliest settlers communicated with each other and with "the folks at home."
37. The establishment of counties.
38. Earliest ranching experiences.
39. The V. F. horse ranch.
40. Stories of the old cattle ranches: The Bow Gun, the "O X," the ranch on Bitter Creek, the ranch on Powder River. To whom did they belong and when were their most prosperous times?
41. The old sheep ranches.
42. Judith Basin: its treasures and treasurers.
43. Lieutenant Bradley and the historical work he did for Montana.
44. A military history of Montana from 1855 to date.
45. Everyday life of the soldiers and their families at Fort Ellis and other early Montana forts.
46. History of the discovery and development of the Anaconda Mine.
47. History of the country opened up by the Milwaukee Railroad.
48. The two capitals of Montana.
49. The three constitutional conventions.
50. Amendments to the state constitution.
51. History of the codes of Montana law.
52. Our governors: interesting bits about them and their administrations.
53. History of political parties in Montana.
54. Historical geography of Montana.
55. Montana's part in national history.
56. Montana's soldiers in the War of 1898.
57. Local history. What are the important events of your country?
58. The Montana Historical Society.
59. Proposed railroads. How will they affect the state?
60. What is the work of the forest nurseries?

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61. Discovery and appreciation of the wonders of the Glacier National Park.
62. A description of each irrigation project, giving the sources, reservoirs, canals, dams, and land irrigated; when started, the cost, and when completed.
63. Origin of some of the Montana names: Big Dry, Red Lodge, Cadotte's Pass, Bear Tooth Mountain, Bear Paw Mountains, Bitter Root, Two Dot, Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, Anaconda, Beaverhead, Chouteau, Dawson, Musselshell, Roundup, Ravalli, Rosebud, Big Horn, Sweet Grass, Yellowstone, Cut Bank, Pompey's Pillar, Two Medicine Lake, Little Belt, Big Hole, Tongue River, Plentywood, Lo-Lo, Missoula.



# QUESTIONS ON "THE STORY OF MONTANA"

## PART I

### EARLY EXPLORERS

1. Who was the American statesman who saw the possibilities of the western country?
2. What were the early explorers searching for?
3. What Indians guided Lewis and Clark over the mountains?
4. What nationality made the best fur traders?
5. What Indian Village was an important center for the explorers and fur traders?
6. Where was the Verendrye Plate found?
7. To what countries did Montana belong before the Louisiana Purchase?
8. When did Montana become United States territory?
9. How long did it take Lewis and Clark to make their trip to the Pacific?
10. What was the name of the Indian interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition?
11. Why did the wife of this interpreter become an important historical character?
12. At what point did Lewis and Clark cross the Bitter Root Mountains?
13. Why did Lewis and Clark pass through the Bitter Root Valley instead of going down the Salmon River?
14. What Indians guided the Lewis and Clark expedition through the mountains?
15. What was the object of Manuel Lisa's trip to the upper Missouri?
16. Who was the first white man to visit the Yellowstone National Park?
17. What influence did the War of 1812 have upon Montana history?
18. What sort of canoes did the Verendryes use?
19. What sort of canoes were used by the Upper Missouri fur traders?
20. What was a perigoue? A bull-boat?
21. How were the keel-boats transported up the river?
22. What was the name given to the French boatmen?
23. What tribe of Indians did Lewis encounter on his voyage down the river?
24. Where was the home of the Flatheads?

25. What Indians lived east of the Rockies and north and west of the Missouri?
26. What Indians, whose home was in the Snake River country, were often at the Three Forks of the Missouri?
27. What Indians lived in the Big Horn Valley?
28. Where did Lewis and Clark have their first view of the Rockies?
29. What did the finding of the eagle's nest prove to Lewis and Clark?
30. Who were the Three Forks of the Missouri named for?
31. What game was most dreaded by the Indians?
32. What animals were the most useful to the Indians?
33. What animals furnished the choicest skins?
34. At what point on the Missouri was the first trading post built?
35. Why are not the Verendryes' journals useful to historians?
36. Name two present-day historians who have made the sources of exploring history accessible to the general public.

## PART II

### INDIANS

1. What Indians (according to our records) were the first to occupy the Missouri River Valley?
2. Of what were the lodges made before the fur traders brought cloth to the Indians?
3. How did the Montana Indians acquire horses?
4. Which Montana Indians were the first to have guns?
5. Why were the Flatheads and Blackfeet such bitter enemies?
6. What tribe of Blackfeet were continually at war with the Crows?
7. What dreaded tribe from the east of the Missouri hunted in the Yellowstone Valley?
8. Why did all the Montana Indians go to hunt in the Yellowstone?
9. What tribe of Indians made Sacajawea a captive?
10. What did Lewis and Clark call the Flatheads?
11. What commodity could the Assiniboines offer to induce the fur traders to build a post as far up the river as Fort Union?
12. Which of all the tribes were considered the best robe-makers?
13. What was the Indian name for the Crows?
14. The skins of what animals were obtained at Fort Benton?
15. Of what tribe was Arapooash the chief?

16. What terrible catastrophe greatly diminished the number of Montana Indians?
17. Why did not the St. Louis fur traders establish a post among the Flatheads?
18. When was the Laramie Council held, and where?
19. Who was the first governor of Montana while it was still a part of Washington?
20. Where was the council of 1855 held?
21. What improvement in conditions was brought about by this council?
22. Aside from his missionary work for the Indians, what valuable work did Father DeSmet give to Montana?

### **PART III**

#### **FUR TRADE**

1. In what way are the Chouteau family of St. Louis connected with Montana history?
2. Who was the first fur trader to come into Montana?
3. What phase of the fur trade most interested General Ashley?
4. Why should John Jacob Astor's name be mentioned in Montana history?
5. What was the first fur company to operate in Montana?
6. What posts were established at the mouth of the Big Horn and at the Three Forks of the Missouri?
7. Where did the Rocky Mountain Fur Company operate?
8. In the employ of what company did Kenneth McKenzie come to Montana?
9. What was the first post of the American Fur Company in Montana?
10. What post was built in the Piegan country?
11. What connection did Alexander Culbertson have with the American Fur Company?
12. Who had charge of Fort Union in its last days?
13. What was the name of the first fort at Fort Benton?
14. When was the name of the post at Fort Benton finally changed to Fort Benton?
15. Name four posts on the Yellowstone.
16. How did the Rocky Mountain Fur Company transport their goods to the Green River Country?

17. What were the four kinds of boats used by the fur traders before the use of the steamboat?
18. When did the first steamboat go to Fort Union?
19. Who took the first steamboat to Fort Benton?
20. Who was the most noted trapper of Montana?
21. Who was a famous guide for overland travelers to California and the Oregon country?
22. Which of the large fur companies operated on the Upper Columbia River?
23. Why do you suppose Thompson Falls was so named?
24. What was the principal post on the upper Columbia?
25. Who was Angus MacDonald?
26. What can you tell of his son Duncan?
27. What transaction between the United States and the Hudson Bay Company in 1872 was an important one for Montana?
28. Who has written the most important and comprehensive work on the fur trade of the Missouri River?

## PART IV

### VISITORS TO THE POSTS

1. Why did Prince Maximilian make St. Louis his outfitting post when going up the Missouri?
2. In what boat did Maximilian go up to Fort Union?
3. How did he go from Fort Union to Fort McKenzie?
4. How did he make the return trip?
5. Why was Maximilian's visit cut short?
6. How far up the river did Catlin go?
7. What fur trader made the visits of Maximilian and Audubon a pleasure?
8. What part of Montana did Audubon visit?
9. Who was the first missionary to the Montana Indians?
10. What is a Pembina Cart?
11. Where did Governor Stevens and his surveying party make their headquarters while in Montana?
12. Where did Governor Stevens take formal possession as Governor of Washington?
13. Did Governor Stevens make any other visits to Montana?
14. What Montana man possesses a copy of Maximilian's original journal?
15. What does Chittenden say of Maximilian's journal?

16. What great criticism is there of Catlin's work?
17. How do Father DeSmet's journals differ from those of Maximilian and Audubon?
18. What Government Report describes the work of the railroad surveying parties of 1853-1855?
19. Who has compiled a life of I. I. Stevens?
20. Where is the best account of the Council of 1855 to be found?

## **PART V**

### **MISSIONARIES**

1. What Indians told the Flatheads about the missionaries?
2. How many delegates were sent to St. Louis for missionaries?
3. What adventures befell the first delegation?
4. Who was Ignace Saxe?
5. Who was the first Black Robe to come?
6. Did he stay in Montana?
7. How many times did Father DeSmet come to Montana?
8. Where was the first service held in Montana?
9. Where was the first mission established in Montana?
10. What wonderful secret did the early missionaries learn when they came to live with the Indians?
11. Who is the priest best remembered in the Bitter Root Valley?
12. Why was St. Mary's Mission closed?
13. What was done with the buildings?
14. What became of the permanent mission west of the mountains?
15. What missionary ministered to the Blackfeet?
16. When was missionary work begun with the Crows?

## **PART VI**

### **THE FIRST SETTLERS**

1. In what year was gold discovered in California?
2. What route did the California gold seekers take in order to reach the Eldorado?
3. What did the Indians call the Great Salt Lake Trail?
4. Who was the first known prospector in Montana?



5. Who was the half-breed who found gold in Gold Creek?
6. What two brothers were the first settlers to publish the discovery of gold in Montana?
7. In what valley was the first settlement made?
8. When was gold discovered in Bannack?
9. When was gold discovered in Alder Gulch?
10. Name the six men who discovered gold in Alder Gulch.
11. Which of the six was the first to make the discovery?
12. How did Alder Gulch compare with other placer creeks in richness and extent?
13. What was the settlement at Alder Gulch named?
14. How did the earliest settlers come to Montana?
15. What year did steamboats first reach Fort Benton?
16. What Indians made the river trip dangerous?
17. What currency was used by the early settlers?
18. What peril came to the settlers in the summer of 1863?
19. Why were the settlers afraid to prosecute the road agents?
20. Were the road agents as bad in Bannack as in Virginia?
21. Before the territorial laws were enforced what was the method used to keep law-breakers in check?
22. Who was elected sheriff to fill the place of Crawford?
23. Through what secret society were the Vigilantes able to organize?
24. Who was the leader of the road agents?
25. What eventually happened to the road agents?
26. How long were the people terrorized by the road agents?
27. How long did it take the Vigilantes to bring the road agents to justice?
28. What were the questions of the day which interested the settlers after the suppression of the road agents?
29. When was Montana made a territory?
30. Where was the first territorial capital?
31. Who named Montana?
32. Who was the first governor of the territory?
33. Who appointed the territorial officers?
34. What was done at the first legislative assembly?
35. When was the Historical Society incorporated?
36. What were the first counties?
37. What town was built at Last Chance Gulch?
38. When was gold discovered at Last Chance?
39. How did Confederate Gulch compare in richness and extent with Alder Gulch?
40. What town grew up on Silver Bow Creek?
41. Who found the first placers on Silver Bow Creek?

42. In what part of Butte were the first cabins built?
43. When were Montana's richest placers worked out?
44. Who wrote the first book published in Montana?
45. Who wrote the best and fullest account of the work done by the Vigilantes?
46. What book did Granville Stuart write?
47. What was the first newspaper published and where?

## PART VII

### THE SOLDIERS IN MONTANA

1. What military expedition went up to the Upper Missouri Country in 1824?
2. What was the purpose of this expedition?
3. Who were the men at the head of this expedition?
4. What was the result of this expedition?
5. What was done in 1853 to make the West better known to eastern people?
6. How many surveys were made in finding the route to the Pacific?
7. Which survey was that of the forty-seventh parallel?
8. Who had charge of the survey of the forty-seventh parallel?
9. Who was the first governor of Washington Territory?
10. What part of Montana was then in Washington Territory?
11. What could the fur traders tell the surveyors about the best places to cross the mountains in winter?
12. Where were winter quarters established?
13. What did the Flatheads know about the winter crossing of the mountains?
14. What road did Captain James L. Fisk's expedition build?
15. What part of Montana was explored by Captain Reynolds?
16. Name two stage stations on the Mullan Road.
17. What rivers did the Bozeman Road cross?
18. What Indian country was crossed by the Bozeman Road?
19. What tribes objected to the whites using the Bozeman Road?
20. At which fort was Lieutenant Bradley stationed when he wrote his manuscripts on Montana history?
21. Where were Fort Shaw and Fort Logan?
22. What four posts were built in 1876 and 1878?
23. When was Fort Missoula built?

24. Was Fort Buford in Montana?
25. Was Fort Benton a military post?
26. With what tribes were the two great Indian battles of Montana fought?
27. Were the Sioux Montana Indians?
28. What famous mining country belonged originally to the Sioux?
29. Why were the troops pursuing the Sioux?
30. What three generals were engaged in the troubles with the Sioux?
31. Who was Custer's general?
32. What office did Custer hold?
33. How many companies were under Custer?
34. How many Indians did the soldiers think were in the village?
35. How many were there in reality?
36. How many of Custer's companies were with him during his last stand?
37. What became of the Indians?
38. Where is the Custer battle-field?
39. Who was the great Sioux chief?
40. Was he a brave warrior?
41. Where is the Cheyenne Reservation?
42. To what state did the Nez Percés belong?
43. Did all the Nez Percés go on the war-path?
44. What were the names of the Nez Percés chiefs who were in the Battle of the Big Hole?
45. Where did these Indians want to go?
46. Who was the general who had charge of the Montana soldiers in the Battle of the Big Hole?
47. What captain and lieutenant were killed in the battle?
48. Did the Indians escape to Canada?
49. What happened at the Bear Paw Mountains?
50. To whom did Chief Joseph surrender?
51. Where can you find a reliable account of all military expeditions?
52. In what reports would you look for a description of the railroad surveys?
53. Where can you find an account of the building of the Mullan Road?
54. Where can you find the facts regarding the building of the early military posts?
55. What two soldiers' wives have written descriptions of Western army life?
56. What soldier was interested in early Montana history?

PART VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE

1. Name the five placer mining towns.
2. Name the four stage station towns.
3. When was the first gold-bearing quartz discovered? Where?
4. What town became a lively silver camp?
5. Which town was the best gold camp?
6. When did Butte become a copper camp?
7. What two men brought the quartz mines of Butte to the notice of the treasure seekers?
8. Who was the first persistent miner on Anaconda Hill, and what was his mine?
9. When was Anaconda Mine first developed?
10. Who of the early settlers were the first to explore the Yellowstone National Park?
11. When did the Washburn party do their exploring?
12. Who were the first five governors of Montana?
13. Who named Montana?
14. What was the first railroad in Montana?
15. What lands in Montana were granted the Northern Pacific in compensation for building their road?
16. Where was the golden spike driven which commemorated the completion of the Northern Pacific?
17. What ended the navigation of the Missouri in Montana?
18. What town was created and what town revived by the building of the Great Northern?
19. Which road is "Jim Hill's Road"?
20. Name five agricultural valleys of the early mining days.
21. What kind of stock was first raised in Montana?
22. What caused the settlers to think of the Yellowstone Valley as a good cattle country?
23. What important lesson did the cattle men learn in the winter of 1886?
24. Who had the first sheep in Montana?
25. How does Montana rank as a wool and sheep producing state?
26. When was the territorial capital changed to Helena?
27. Why did not Philipsburg remain an important mining town?
28. Which of the Montana towns is now noted for its gold mines?
29. Who were the last five governors of the territorial days?

30. When was the constitution of Montana made?
31. How long after this did Montana become a state?
32. On what day was issued the proclamation recognizing Montana as one of the states?
33. Name the governors since Montana became a state.

## PART IX

### TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDIANS

1. What great service did Governor Stevens perform for the white men and the Indians?
2. In what book will you find an account of W. T. Hamilton's part in the council of 1865 at Fort Benton?
3. Why did the Flatheads refuse to leave the Bitter Root Valley?
4. How was J. M. Bozeman killed?
5. What Indians were on the Blackfoot Reservation?
6. Where were the Gros Ventres of the Prairie and the Assiniboines?
7. What Shoshone chiefs were well-known characters around Virginia City?
8. Who were the father and grandfather of Charlot?
9. What chief was a friend of Charlot's grandfather?
10. To what tribe did Little Dog belong?
11. What office did Francis E. Leupp hold?
12. What was his ambition for the Indians?
13. What book has Mr. Leupp written about his plans for the Indians?
14. What is meant by the Burke Amendment to the Dawes Act?
15. What Indians can vote?
16. What is meant by an allotment?
17. Was any land left for settlers after the Indian allotments were made?
18. What good condition followed the inauguration of the Crows' Annual Wild West Show?

## PART X

### NATIONAL PROBLEMS

1. What three national problems interested the people of Montana?
2. When was irrigation first thought of?
3. What engineer of the War Department wrote a report showing how the government could handle the irrigation problem?

4. What was the name of this report?
5. Who was the man who started the work of the United States Geological Survey?
6. Under which department of the government is the United States Geological Survey carried on?
7. What was the first work of this survey?
8. What middle western newspaper assisted in the movement for national irrigation?
9. What organization was William E. Smythe instrumental in forming?
10. What was the name of the government report written by Major H. M. Chittenden?
11. From what state was the Newlands Bill in Congress introduced?
12. What was the general plan of the Newlands Bill?
13. What is the Reclamation Fund?
14. Who really eventually pays for the irrigation of the land?
15. What part does the government play in it?
16. How much land can any one pay water right for?
17. How did the arrangement affect the large land holders?
18. What is the Reclamation Service?
19. Who was the first head of the Reclamation Service?
20. What is the largest irrigation project in Montana?
21. Name six other projects.
22. What lakes are near the headwaters of the Milk River?
23. Of what Canadian river are these lakes the headwaters?
24. Of what river is Milk River a branch?
25. Is its whole course in Montana?
26. What waters are saved by building a reservoir at the lower St. Mary Lake?
27. The waters of what streams have been diverted into these lakes?
28. Are the Canadian lands along the St. Mary River robbed by the building of this reservoir?
29. Are the Canadian lands along the Milk River helped any by the building of this reservoir?
30. What agreement did Canada make with us about the right to this water?
31. What could we have done with the waters of the St. Mary Lakes if they had refused to come to this agreement?
32. What would then have become of the St. Mary River?
33. How is the water diverted from the St. Mary Lakes into the Milk River?
34. What is the work done on the Milk River Project after the river comes into Montana from Canada?
35. Why is the Sun River Project a difficult one?
36. What is the work of the Huntley and Lower Yellowstone Projects?

37. What is dry farming?
38. To what institution should you write for a full description of the dry farming system as it is best practised in Montana?
39. How many acres in Montana can never be irrigated?
40. Why is it impossible to irrigate these lands?
41. Who was the Nebraska man who invented the implements for dry farming?
42. Did he discover the dry-land system?
43. When is the greatest rainfall in Montana?
44. Why are these months the best times for rain for the farmer?
45. Why then should Montana be called an arid state or rather what condition of the atmosphere counteracts the good rainfall?
46. What is the principle of dry farming?
47. What is Campbell's method?
48. When did the Montana Experiment Station first begin to dry farm?
49. What two railroads have helped them financially?
50. What is the work of the demonstration farms?
51. Were the men at the Experiment Station the first to try dry farming in Montana?
52. Do the dry-land farmers of the present day fully understand the system?
53. What in reality are the forest reserves?
54. In what way are the irrigation projects dependent upon the forests?
55. How can good forestry in Montana affect Nebraska and the Dakotas?
56. Who was the first man, and from what state, to realize that it was important for the people of the United States to care for their forests?
57. When was Arbor Day first thought of?
58. What effect has Arbor Day had upon Nebraska?
59. What was the Timber Culture Act?
60. What is the difference between a forest reserve and a national forest?
61. How were the forestry laws improved by the law of 1897?
62. Which is the most thickly wooded, the eastern or western parts of Montana?
63. What is the work of the men in the forest service?
64. How can forest fires be prevented?
65. In what year were forest fires most destructive?
66. What good grew out of these terrible fires?
67. How can the forestry association help Montana?
68. What work do forest nurseries do?
69. How may settlers use the forests?
70. How are the receipts of the national forests used?
71. Do the forests pay for themselves?
72. Who are the first to profit from the forests?

**CONCLUSION**

1. Why has Montana been named the Treasure State?
2. What three things have made it possible for Montana to develop into an agricultural state?
3. What rich valley was opened up by the building of the Milwaukee Road?
4. How did the Milwaukee Road change the Mussleshell Valley?
5. Name the important towns along the Milwaukee.
6. Tell of the new branch railroads lately built in Montana.
7. In what way have the railroads helped Montana besides the building of the roads?
8. What finally has been the greatest factor in the agricultural development of Montana?



## PRONOUNCING GLOSSARY

Absaraka.....ab-sa'-ra-ka  
 Beau Harnois...bo-Ar-nwa'  
 Beaux Hommes.bōz-om'  
 Benetsee.....be-net'-se  
 Chantier.....shān-tye'  
 Charboneau...shar'-bon-o  
 Charlot.....shar'-low  
 Chippeways...chip'-pe-ways  
 Chouteau.....show'-tow  
 Coues.....cows  
 De Smet.....de-smet'  
 Droillard.....drew'-yar  
 Ft. de la Riene..fort de la Rain  
 Ft. Keogh.....fort Kee'-o  
 Gervais.....zher-va'  
 Gros Ventres...gro-von'-tr  
 Hallochs.....hal'-loch-chs  
 Helena.....hel'-en-a  
 Iroquois.....ir'-o-kwoi  
 Kalispells...ka-lis-pells'  
 Kootenais.....koo'-te-nay  
 Lapwai.....lap'-weye (or lapwi)  
 Laramie.....la'-ra-mee  
 Lisa.....lee'-sa  
 Malad.....ma-lahd'

Marias.....mar-eye'-as (ma-  
   rias)  
 Meagher.....mah'-her  
 Michelle.....me-shell'  
 Minnetarees...min-ne-ta'-rees  
 Nez Perces.....(sing.) ne-pur-ce'  
   (plu.) ne-pur'-ce  
 Pend d' Oeilles.pond-o-ray'  
 Periogues.....pi-rōg'  
 Piegans.....pee'-gans  
 Pierre.....pee-air'  
 Prudhomme,  pru-dom',  
           Gabriel.....gā'-bri-el  
 Rendezvous...rawn'-da-vu  
 Sacajawea.....sa-kā-ja-wee'-a  
 St. Regis Borgia st. rēe-jis bor'-gi-a  
 Saleesh.....sa'-leesh  
 Saskatchewan..sas-catch'-e-wan  
 Saxe, Ignace...sacks'-eye, een'-yas  
 Shoshones.....sho-sho'-nees (sing.)  
   sho-sho'-ne  
 Sioux.....plu. and sing. sue  
 Stomus.....ss-t-o-mus  
 Teton.....tee'-tawn  
 Verendrye.....vēr-en-der-ee'  
 Voyageurs.....vwā-yā-zhur

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